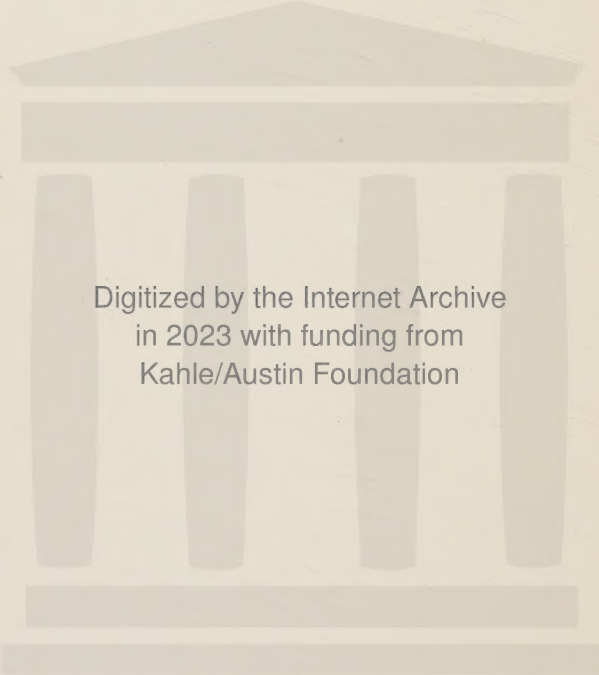






PEPLOGRAPHIA DVBLINENSIS



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# PEPLOGRAPHIA DVBLINENSIS

## Memorial Discourses

*PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN*

*1895—1902*

Πέπλον ἐποίησαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ ἐνέγραψαν  
τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν αὐτῷ.

—SUIDAS

London

MACMILLAN AND CO. LIMITED

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1902



PRINTED AT THE



By PONSONBY & WELDRICK.

## PREFACE

FOR some years past a Festival Service has been held in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, on the evening of Trinity Monday, and a Sermon has been preached in memory of some eminent member of the College. No attempt has been made to select only the very greatest names, and Trinity men may wonder at some of the omissions. But it is well that we should be reminded from time to time of the services to the College rendered by benefactors like Stearne, of the piety of Wilson, the patriotism of Grattan and King, the bright example of Falkland, as well as of the wider fame of Berkeley and Ussher and Burke. On future occasions it is hoped that some of the omissions may be made good, and that Swift and Goldsmith may receive due recognition.

Meantime, in borrowing from Varro for this series his title of *Peplographia*, we believe that we have included in it no portrait which he would have deemed unworthy of being represented on the Robe of Athena, or to which he would have refused a place in his own 'Book of Worthies.'

J. H. BERNARD.

THE DEANERY,  
ST. PATRICK'S CLOSE, DUBLIN,  
*St. Bartholomew's Day, 1902.*



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think on these things.*

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ARCHBISHOP USSHER

PREACHED ON TRINITY SUNDAY, AND THE FIRST SUNDAY  
AFTER TRINITY, 1895, BY THE RIGHT REV. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D.,  
LORD BISHOP OF EDINBURGH.

# I

## ARCHBISHOP USSHER

*Remember the former things of old.*

ISAIAH xlv. 9.

THERE are few of us who have not in our vacation-rambles visited, at one time or another, among places of historic interest, the great castle or stately mansion of some royal or noble house. And to one properly equipped with adequate information it is a delight to pace slowly through the long picture-gallery from whose walls look down the visible presentments of men famous in their time, princes, warriors, councillors of state, prelates, political leaders, courtiers, who have, most of them, left some mark upon their country's history. And, perhaps, as we pass from one portrait to another the thought crosses our minds that the sons of the family in our own day, brought up and living amid such surroundings, must be

indeed unworthy of their name if they do not at times feel stirrings of heart towards the high ambition that their lives may not pass away in selfish indulgence or ignoble sloth, but may, after their measure, be in accord with the honour of their ancient house.

Feelings akin to these may surely be experienced by all of us, my brethren, who are so happy as to be members of a great historic foundation like our own College and University. We read the long roll of honour on which are emblazoned the achievements of so many distinguished names. We, too, are sons of an illustrious house. And those of us who will read the records of the past, may feel as though we stood in the long portrait-gallery of ancestors and of kinsmen—princes in the world of thought, heroes in the bloodless fields of scientific research, magnates in the republic of letters, many who have worthily served their own age and generation, and some whose services have their abiding value for all time.

It is right that we should not forget that, as in the history of a family, so in the history of a community, there are not a few who have faithfully served their generation and passed away, and yet never



attained the distinction of the fame that lives upon the lips of men in after time. There have been many such—good men, just men, conscientious in the performance of duty, honest administrators of their trust, discreet and able in dealing with the practical problems that arise from week to week in the conduct of affairs. The wisdom shown by such men at this juncture, or that, has made all the difference between shipwreck and escape, between ignominious collapse and honourable success. Thus, among administrators in the higher office of a great corporation, and among others in inferior, though no less truly honourable, posts of duty, many a faithful man—we must not forget it—has done his work and left behind no monument to arrest attention. The next generation forgets him. His name, if pronounced, awakens no associations. But there is another and a juster judgment than that which finds expression in popular applause or the reputation of the schools. Let us not forget this truth, so easily forgotten when we occupy our thoughts with illustrious names that stand out pre-eminent in the annals of the University. There is, indeed, another than an earthly order of precedence; and what surprising changes of places might be revealed to our wondering eyes if we could but see things as they are seen by the great Judge of all!

Nevertheless, that we are unable specially to commemorate the many worthy sons of our University who have gone silently to their graves, is not a just or sufficient reason why we should decline to think with gratitude of those whose labours in their several generations have been of conspicuous service to their fellow-men, and have made this seat of learning honoured wherever genius, scholarship, and research are held in regard. And, when our thoughts turn to the history of the great and eminent among the members of this house, let us never forget that our gratitude is due primarily to the Giver of all good gifts, from whom is the spirit of knowledge and counsel, of wisdom and understanding. We glorify God in his servants. The range of our benefactors extends beyond our royal foundress, her royal successors, and those others whose munificence has contributed to the material well-being of Trinity College. The *Laudamus te, benignissime Pater* of our daily College grace should include, in thought, if not in words, many other benefactors who have bequeathed to us a spiritual heritage not less precious than wealth and landed estates.

I. I would ask you to-day to look back across three centuries to the founding and early years of our

University, and, more particularly, to consider the life and labours of one, who, though literally among the very first who entered as students the gates of this College, attained an eminence for worth and learning which, perhaps, has never been surpassed by any who have succeeded him. The reputation of James Ussher was, in his day, a European reputation, and, among those competent to form a judgment, time has not dulled its lustre.

It was obviously an immense advantage to the new foundation, as a seat of learning, that thus early in its history one wholly bred within its walls\* established for himself a position of such unquestionable eminence. The truth is, that during the seventeenth century, though Oxford and Cambridge did much for the cause of learning, neither of these ancient Universities produced a scholar of such eminent distinction, of such brilliant and wide-spread reputation as that of Ussher.† Among Ussher's

\* Archbishop Ussher, urging Archbishop Laud to accept the Chancellorship of the University of Dublin, writes, that if he would consent he would 'put a further tie of observance not upon that [University] only, but upon me also, who had my whole breeding there, and obtained the honour of being the first proctor that ever was there.' *Works* xv., 572.

† Indeed we may not be overstating the truth if we adopt the judgment of Hallam (*Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, ii., p. 453), that the learning of Ussher 'has, perhaps, never been surpassed by any English writer.'

contemporaries the chorus of praise, with scarcely audible a discordant voice, reaches us from almost every quarter: from England, Holland, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. The two volumes devoted to his correspondence in Elrington's edition of his *Works*, show us something not only of his varied interests in the field of research, but of the general admiration in which he was held in the world of letters. Indeed, the erudition of Europe, in the seventeenth century, may be regarded as not very inadequately represented by the names of the distinguished scholars with whom Ussher carried on a learned intercourse. Among these we find antiquaries and collectors of books and manuscripts such as Camden, Dugdale, Selden, Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Bodley. Hebraists, Syriac, and Arabic scholars are represented by the younger Buxtorf, Louis de Dieu, Louis Cappel, and (a giant in Oriental learning) Constantine l'Empereur. Others of his correspondents are Gataker, Saville (the editor of the Eton edition of Chrysostom), Valesius (the editor of the text of Eusebius), Gerard and Isaac Voss, Blondel and Daillé, of the French Reformed Church, Frederick Spanheim, and Salmasius—all of them distinguished students of patristic and early Christian antiquities. While there are few of the more eminent divines

and biblical critics of our own country who did not, at some time or other, exchange letters with Ussher. Of these last it may suffice to name Lancelot Andrews, John Forbes (of Corse), Bramhall, Thomas Morton, Joseph Hall, Mede, Hammond, Bryan Walton, Patrick Young, Cudworth, and Thorn-dike.

It would be easy to fill pages with the testimonies of learned contemporaries to the wonder and admiration with which Ussher was regarded.\*

The history of a scholar's life is seldom more than the record of his literary labours. But Ussher was, unfortunately perhaps for his own peace of mind, persuaded to accept high office in the Church, first as Bishop of Meath, and afterwards as Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. He lived, moreover, in troublous times; and our amazement at the extent and the quality of his literary work is greatly heightened by the consideration of the amount of time and thought which he was called upon to expend in the necessary duties of his exalted station

\* From the 18th century we may cite the words of Samuel Johnson, though they are, perhaps, of more value as reflecting the prevailing opinion among men of letters at the time, than as expressing the judgment of the speaker. 'Ussher,' he said, 'was the great luminary of the Irish Church, and a greater no Church could boast of, at least in modern times.' (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. iii. p. 148, *edit.* 1882.)

in a period of exceptional turmoil, ecclesiastical and civil.

The story of Ussher's life can here be told only in briefest outline. He was born in the city of Dublin in 1581.\* On January 9, 1594,† Trinity College was opened for the admission of students; and Ussher entered having just completed his thirteenth year. It may, however, be remarked that the College records show that this was by no means an exceptionally early age for entrance. When he was admitted he possessed no knowledge of Greek, but immediately began to make rapid progress in that language.

The bent of his mind from the first was towards historical inquiries. He used to dwell upon and repeat the words of Cicero, 'To be ignorant of history is to be always a child' (*nescire autem quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum*).‡ The exigencies of the time and of the country forced upon his attention the controversy with the Church of Rome. He determined to investigate the questions involved from their *historical* side. Was the faith of the Papacy the faith of the early Church? When he reached the age of twenty he entered upon a self-imposed task of great magnitude. He resolved to read right through all

\* Jan. 4, 1580-81. † *i.e.* 1593-94. ‡ *De oratore*, c. 34, s. 120.



the works of the Christian Fathers ; and despite distractions of many kinds he persevered, and accomplished his design after eighteen years of labour. Ussher very early perceived that the slippery metaphysical speculation, which occupied so large a space in theological controversy, was not the safest standing ground. He would rest upon the surer basis of facts ; and these facts he would ascertain, and ascertain for himself. What was absent from the faith of the early Church could certainly be none of its essentials. He dwelt upon the maxim of Tertullian, '*id esse verum quodcunque primum ; id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius.*'\*

The exact date of Ussher's election as Fellow of Trinity College has not been ascertained, but it was certainly before he had attained his twenty-first year. Though not yet of the canonical age, he was by special dispensation ordained deacon and priest in December, 1601.

As is known to most of my hearers, the English army, after the rescue of Kinsale from the Spanish troops, with a very remarkable direction of munificence for soldiers in the flush of victory, subscribed a large sum of money for the better furnishing of our College Library. Ussher, still a young man, was

\* '*Quo peraeque adversus universas haeraeses iam hinc praeiudicatum sit, id esse verum,*' etc. *Adv. Prax.* cap. 2.

despatched with another of the Fellows to London to purchase books. In London Ussher at once made valued friends among men of learning, and on this occasion formed an acquaintance with Sir Thomas Bodley, who was then engaged in making his own great collection, afterwards bequeathed to the University of Oxford. On several other occasions Ussher visited England for the purpose of acquiring or consulting books and manuscripts. His repute for erudition was soon acknowledged in the learned circles of England; and by-and-by it came to be known and respected among scholars on the Continent. While, at a later period, 'Armachanus' is cited in the treatises of foreign scholars as among authorities that it needed considerable daring to contravene.

In 1621 Ussher was appointed to the Bishopric of Meath, and a few years later to the Primacy. At this distance of time it is perhaps impossible to form a judgment on his wisdom in accepting these offices, but one may feel confident that his own happiness was not increased by being involved in public affairs. As chief ruler of the Church of Ireland in troublous times, Ussher must have found the inroads upon his studies constant and harassing. And the truth is, that the least successful part of his career was that which concerned his eminent offices as Bishop and Primate. It is in the highest

degree exceptional to find anyone, however highly endowed, capable of combining the duties of a man plunged into the midst of public affairs, ecclesiastical and civil, with the labours of literary research. Time, if one were to think of nothing else, is not easily found for the execution of two great tasks. And, further, the student's general temper and habit of mind is ill-fitted to qualify him for practical dealing with men. He is often impatient when reasoning that seems to him conclusive is not at once responded to, or is unappreciated by others. He is tempted to make insufficient allowance for stupidity and prejudice. He may think the arts of management beneath him ; at all events he is no adept in its methods. He is not given to the discreet and adroit ways which men of the world learn by experience to be essential to the attainment of their ends. He is little inclined towards the compromises which are so often necessary. Bishop Burnet, though he could have had no personal acquaintance with Ussher, may be taken as expressing the general judgment of his time, when he wrote of Ussher :—‘ He was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. But no man is entirely perfect : he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses ; and

therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. . . . But though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of those things very heartily ; yet he did not bestir himself, suitably to the obligation that lay on him, for carrying it on.' It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Ussher answers to the description which Laud gave of Ussher's contemporary, the learned Scottish prelate, James Wedderburne, whom he characterizes briefly as 'a mere book-man.' Ussher was much more than 'a book-man.' He was forced into action by the great affairs of Church and State, and though he may have shown little aptitude for the more secular work that in those days was looked for from the Primate of all Ireland, his deep interest in the spiritual welfare of those committed to his care is abundantly manifest. He was always diligent in the pulpit. While still a layman, he had begun to give public instructions in St. Catherine's Church in this city, and after his ordination and during the years of his episcopate, he continued to be a frequent preacher, whenever opportunity offered, almost up to the time of his death. The motto of his seal was 'Vae mihi si non evangelizavero.' These constant labours as a preacher, when added to his prodigious work as a student, fill us with amazement.

It was in a large measure due to the efforts of Ussher that William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed to the Chancellorship of this University. The attitude of Laud on ecclesiastical questions was widely different from that of Ussher: but Ussher had sufficient insight to recognise that Laud was a loyal Anglican churchman, and that within the bounds of the Church of England there was room for those who differed. The stifling atmosphere of the close conventicle was not the air he breathed. He knew well that there was no more determined, and few abler opponents of Roman claims than the high-church Primate of England. Differ though they might, he could welcome him as a brother. And Laud in his turn was not behind-hand in befriending Ussher in the time of need.\*

The appointment of Wentworth (better known to us by his subsequent title of Strafford) as Lord Deputy made a startling change in the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland. The alienation of Church property, the ruined condition of the Church fabrics, the neglect of the observance of the Church's seasons, the non-residence of the parish clergy, their ignorance and insufficiency, and the contempt in which they were generally held, deeply stirred the new-comer.

\* It was Laud who procured for Ussher, when driven from Ireland, the use of the Deanery-house at Westminster.

Wentworth at once set about with his characteristic eagerness to put things right after his notions of fitness, and, unhappily, in a manner so high-handed and imperious that enemies to his rule were rapidly multiplied. It speaks well for Ussher, whose temper of mind was so entirely unlike, that he could appreciate the great qualities of Wentworth, and the worthy objects he had in view. The strain was no doubt considerable, but, even after the fall of Strafford, Ussher continued his true friend.

No point connected with the history of the Archbishop has been so much a subject of dispute as the question, what was the part taken by him in counselling the king (at the king's request) as to his duty after Strafford had been tried and condemned. Charles declared that he himself believed Strafford to be innocent: could he, then, be justified in sanctioning his execution? The question is a legitimate problem in morals. Is a monarch who believes the innocence of a person tried and found guilty, morally justified in giving effect to the sentence pronounced by the legitimately constituted tribunal? Ussher's part in the matter has been differently described by different writers. He was accused by many in his own day of having concurred with Bishop Williams, and gratified his private revenge, in counselling the death of Strafford. The



charge he himself indignantly denied ; but it has been renewed in our own day and popularised by the pen of the partisan historian, Macaulay. Though I have myself carefully examined the evidence, and believe the charge to be baseless, you will be better pleased to hear the judgment of one who will be acknowledged on all hands as incomparably the most fully informed, and at the same time the most impartial of all the historians who have dealt with the reign of Charles I.—I refer to Dr. S. R. Gardiner. He is satisfied that Ussher concurred with Juxon in advising the king to refuse his assent to the bill of attainder, knowing, as he did, Strafford to be innocent.\*

The combination of the assailants of Ussher's character in this affair is not, after all, very wonderful. The High-Church critics of Ussher's views as to episcopacy have not been displeased to find some mode of vilifying his great name ; while the Puritans were eager to claim the sanction of Ussher for the judicial murder which they had perpetrated.

Both during the trial of Strafford and while he awaited death in the Tower, Ussher was sedulous in his ministrations. It was through Ussher was

\* *History of England from the accession of James I. to the outbreak of the Civil War*, vol. ix., p. 366.

arranged the sad interchange of parting looks when the aged Archbishop Laud viewed from his prison window for the last time the face of Strafford as on the fatal morning he passed towards the place of execution. It was Ussher who knelt in prayer upon the scaffold with the fallen Deputy.

These were agitating and trying days for the Irish Primate. The great rebellion had reduced him to absolute poverty, so that he was dependent upon the charity of friends. His noble library had been with difficulty rescued from Drogheda. But his refusal to take any part in the Westminster Assembly of Divines (on which he had been nominated by the Parliament) and his courageous declaration as to its illegality and schismatical tendency were bitterly resented and induced acts of retaliation. His library was confiscated by Parliament, and although through the generosity of Selden and other friends it was bought back, or in some other way saved for the Archbishop, it was found on examination that many of his valued manuscripts had been abstracted.

One other incident in the life of Ussher may be mentioned as vividly recalling to us the trial and strain of those turbulent days. In January, 1649, the Archbishop was a guest in the house of Lady Peterborough at Charing Cross. On the fatal

morning of the 30th, the Archbishop was persuaded to mount to the leads of the house that he might obtain a last glimpse of the king his master, whom he had so faithfully served. But the shock of the sight of the scaffold at Whitehall was too much for the old man, and he was removed in a fainting condition before the axe had fallen. Surely those wild times were ill-suited to the labours of learning and research. Yet, strange though it may seem, there are ample proofs that Ussher's ardour and diligence in study continued unabated. Perhaps it may have been with Ussher, as in instances known to some of us, that the remote and out-of-the-world inquiries of learned research made for him an asylum against the shocks of fate, a haven of refuge where he could shelter his soul from the tempests and wild waves that raged without.

In 1656 the aged Archbishop, then in his seventy-sixth year, continued to labour diligently on his *Chronologia Sacra*. On the 20th of March he spent the whole day in his study till the evening light failed him. He then passed into another room of the house and spent some time in offering spiritual consolation to one who was dying. Immediately after this his own mortal illness seized him ; and before two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day he had ceased to breathe. The last audible words

he uttered were, 'O Lord, forgive me—especially my sins of omission.

By order of Cromwell, and aided by a grant from the State, a public funeral of the Archbishop's remains was held in Westminster Abbey, where nothing but a plain flat stone, let into the floor, and inscribed with the words, 'James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh,' marks the place of his burial.\* He sleeps among the mighty dead; and his epitaph, unworn by time, is written on the colossal monument of those works of Christian learning, which will perpetuate his name and fame to generations yet unborn.

II. After this brief sketch of Ussher's personal history, we may proceed to consider—it must also be briefly—Ussher's position in relation to the questions of controversial theology that were prominent in his day, and afterwards go on to say something of his contributions to ecclesiastical learning.

However unwilling some Anglican writers of our time seem to be in acknowledging the fact, the fact it is, that during the reign of Elizabeth the beliefs of the clergy of the Church of England, on the mysterious subjects of God's foreknowledge and

\* Notwithstanding what is said by Dr. Carr (*Life and Times of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh*, pp. 370, 371), the stone may be seen by any who inquire at the Abbey for the tomb of Archbishop Ussher.

electing grace, and their relations to the human will, had all but universally taken the form, which, for the sake of brevity, we may call 'Calvinistic.' These were not questions which divided the parties that in after-time came to be known as 'High-Church' and 'Low-Church.' The controversies of that time turned in the main upon questions of clerical vestures and ritual observance. The use of the surplice and the square cap, and the ceremony of signing with the cross at baptism, provoked angry and violent passions. And there was involved what is, no doubt, the really important question of the authority possessed by the Church in decreeing rites and ceremonies. But, however keen were such controversies, there was substantial agreement on the topics of election and grace, of 'fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.' It was Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, the uncompromising opponent of Puritanism in every form, who gave his sanction and authority to the Lambeth Articles of 1595: and in this he was but giving expression to the prevailing doctrine\* of

\* The late Archdeacon Hardwick, in his *History of the Articles of Religion*, which is a model of historical accuracy, and the cautious statement of well-weighed opinion, writes:—'It may be confidently affirmed that during an interval of nearly thirty years [of Queen Elizabeth's reign], the more *extreme* opinions of the school of Calvin, not excluding his theory of irrespective reprobation, were predominant in almost every town and parish of England' (3rd edition, p. 265).

the English Churchmen of his day. It can hardly be doubted that but for the prompt action of the secular authorities, and the interference of the masterful Burghley, supported by the Queen, the Lambeth Articles would, in their main substance, have come to be the formally declared doctrine of the Church of England. One may observe, in passing, that by some writers of our time, where the action of the State in matters ecclesiastical falls in with their own predilections, it is spoken of as the outcome of the over-ruling of Divine Providence; but when, on the other hand, it is repugnant to their way of thinking, it is stigmatised as a discreditable Erastian interference. But be that as it may, the Church of Ireland, in the days of Elizabeth, reflected the prevailing sentiment of the English Church, and suffered also from the absence of the few modifying influences that existed on the other side of the Channel. Again, if a Puritan divine happened to become especially troublesome in England, it was not uncommon to get rid of him by advancing him to some important preferment in Ireland. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to mention more than the name of Walter Travers, the opponent of Hooker in the Temple Church, who had assailed Hooker for venturing to say that 'he doubted not that God was merciful to many of our forefathers living in



popish superstition for as much as they sinned ignorantly,' and who in earlier days had submitted, in Holland, to the ceremony of ordination at the hands of Thomas Cartwright, he being only in Priests' Orders. This Travers, a man of considerable learning, was appointed Provost of our College shortly after Ussher had entered as a Freshman.

A reaction against extreme Calvinism had begun to make itself apparent in England towards the close of the sixteenth century. But it was slow in gaining strength, and seems to have scarcely touched the Church of Ireland. At all times our place on the map, the physical situation of our island, difficulties of access from the centres of English opinion, the intervening mountains of Wales, and the 'estranging sea,' have distinctly told upon the religious as well as the civil history of our country. Even in our own day, with vastly increased facilities for intercourse with England, the movements of religious thought—not always to our loss—affect us but slowly. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the sixty miles of sea was a formidable barrier to all but adventurous spirits. There were hundreds of the Irish clergy who lived and died without ever having left the soil of their native land. The powerful influences that grow out of personal contact with men who think in the main as we do, *but with*

*differences*, were, for the most part, denied the Irish clergy of the seventeenth century.

Ussher had been brought up under Calvinistic influences, and there can be no question that he was largely concerned in the adoption of the Irish Articles of 1615, which embodied substantially the English (Lambeth) Articles of twenty years before. That Ussher should, in his early years, have inherited the opinions of his teachers is not remarkable, but it *is* remarkable that, as years went by, he was able to free himself from beliefs to which he had been so deeply committed. And that this was the case, the personal testimony of such witnesses as Henry Hammond, Bryan Walton, Thorndike, and Gunning leaves no possible doubt.\*

On another question (that has not yet passed into the back-ground of ecclesiastical controversy), the question of episcopacy and of the relations of bishop and presbyter, Ussher maintained the opinion held by the great majority of divines of repute in the Church of England up to our own time, namely, that episcopacy (in the sense of the superiority of the bishop to the presbyter) was of apostolical origin. Indeed he expressly affirms that the institution of episcopacy was 'confirmed by Christ Himself,'† basing

\* See more particularly Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, p. 292.

† *Works*, vii. 43.

this statement on the epistles to the Seven Churches, in the Apocalypse, where the Lord is represented as inditing a letter to the 'angel', or (as Ussher makes no doubt to declare) the 'bishop', of each of the Seven Churches of Asia. Ussher further maintained that where bishops were to be had, ordination by presbyters was schismatical; but where bishops were not to be had, he held that ordination by presbyters was valid. I need not say that I have no intention of here discussing the merits of this opinion; but I would say to those who may be dissatisfied with Ussher's view, that it was substantially the view, not only of Jewell and Hooker, but of such High Churchmen as Andrewes and Bramhall, and Cosin, and Sancroft.

III. The researches of Ussher extended over wide and varied fields, but his writings fall mainly into four groups :—

1. Early Christian antiquities.
2. The antiquities of the Irish and British Churches.
3. Anti-Roman polemics.
4. Chronology.

In his elaborate work, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1650), Ussher attempted to reduce to accurate system the chronology of the Old Testament, as

represented by the Hebrew text; and it may be observed that it is substantially the dates as determined by Ussher that may now be seen in the margins of our English Bible.\* The ability and vast erudition displayed in Ussher's chronological writings is acknowledged by both continental and English scholars. But any estimate of its value as an ultimate statement must be left to specialists in that difficult department of inquiry.†

In his controversial writings against the Church of Rome Ussher, as has been already said, chose to make his appeal to history and antiquity. In this he was only following the line which had been adopted by the English Reformers of the sixteenth century by Cranmer, by Ridley, by Jewell, and by Bilson. But without wishing to detract from the credit of these earlier writers for extensive erudition, no one can read Ussher's polemical treatises (for example, his *Answer to a challenge made by a Jesuit*) without being impressed with the sense that we have here a greater master. Here is one that steps with

\* These, it would seem, were first inserted in Bishop Lloyd's edition of the Bible (1701).

† It is of interest to observe that the system of Biblical chronology which has, in recent times, with more or less success, competed with Ussher, is the work of another member of the University of Dublin, William Hales, elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1768, and afterwards Rector of Killeshandra.

a surer footing, whose knowledge is more *full* and more *accurate*, and whose critical sense is more acute. In the works of the earlier divines we have the constant repetition of stock passages, often valuable indeed and pertinent, but comparatively limited as regards their sources. In Ussher we have a scholar ranging freely, with the confidence of secure possession, over the whole field of patristic and early mediæval literature. Fresh authorities and fresh illustrations abound ; and more particularly the ancient liturgies receive from him a measure of attention that was not perhaps possible at an earlier date. His critical acumen, naturally keen and cultivated by exercise, is frequently employed in distinguishing genuine from spurious or doubtful authorities ; and, in this respect, none among the earlier English theologians can at all compare with him ; while among the later, none but Pearson, and that in a very limited field. Again, it is not uncommon to find among those who resort much to the authority of the Fathers, an unsteadiness or feebleness in their power of independent judgment. But Ussher never totters under the weight of his erudition. He accumulates authority upon authority on this side and that ; he displays them in extended array ; and he then examines them, tests them, passes among them with self-possession, and pronounces

judgment with the modesty and yet consistent firmness of a master who need not be ashamed to speak.

Again, the *gradual accretion* of Romish error is far better exhibited in the pages of Ussher than in those of any earlier controversialist. Indeed, I do not know that any subsequent writer has, in this direction, done better service for the cause of truth.

To assert that in no instance has Ussher allowed his prepossessions to give a colour to his interpretation of patristic testimonies, would be to claim that he was not liable to the frailties of human nature. But, speaking generally, he seems to me to be a model of the fair and honourable controversialist. In the ornaments of literary style he may have little to boast; but he is always clear, straightforward, and unaffected. The student in divinity, who has mastered the more important chapters of Ussher's *Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge*, and his treatise on *The Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*, would, I think, be more thoroughly equipped for the controversy with Rome than by the study of Jeremy Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, which, in my student-days, was one of the text-books in the Divinity School.

In too many modern controversial treatises we have nothing better than mere snippets cut, and often badly cut, from the works of the early Fathers. The

result has often the effect of an unsatisfactory and perplexing patch-work of disconnected shreds and scraps selected from the rag-bag of second-hand learning. Nor do the copious references to the authors in the footnotes always succeed in freeing us from the feeling that the modern controversialist is but very imperfectly acquainted with the authorities which he cites. It is rarely that an attempt is made to exhibit a general view of the writers who are quoted, or to explain historically the gradual modifications of opinion that have led to modern error. In our own day something has been done to treat with adequate knowledge the subject of the growth of the Papal power in respect to jurisdiction : and it would not be becoming that I should eulogise in this place the great work of our Provost on the *Infallibility of the Church*. But we are yet badly in need of a full *historical* treatment of the several distinctive doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome. The task is doubtless formidable. Are there none of the younger members of the University who would brace themselves up to grapple it? The subject would probably have to be attacked in detail. One scholar might deal, for instance, with the history of the Sacraments, or indeed the history of belief as regards the Eucharist alone, would be a task worthy of the best efforts of



the best man. Another might deal similarly with eschatology ; and a third with the position occupied by St. Mary and other saints in the Church's teaching. While the history of Indulgences would be a very fascinating and a very valuable study for a fourth. I am very confident that at this time, when Roman pretensions are being so vigorously pressed in England, such a series of works as I am thinking of, if undertaken and carried through by competent men, would be eagerly welcomed by very many readers. The essential point is that such works should be written in a strictly *historical* spirit, and that they should not only make manifest the divergence of modern Roman doctrine from antiquity, but should also trace minutely the successive steps in the growth of doctrine.\*

In the treatise, already named, on *The religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*, Ussher was dealing with a subject that was peculiarly his own. At an early age he began, conjointly with his patristic studies, to collect every document that could help to illustrate the early religious history of the British Isles. The result of his indefatigable labours in this direction took shape in three works.

\* We have, indeed, passed a long way from the days of Bishop Kaye in the first half of this century, who judges of the doctrinal position of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, by applying to them the measuring-rod of the XXXIX Articles.

There is, first, the treatise I have referred to, written in English with the view, as he says, 'to induce my poor countrymen to consider a little better of the old and true way, from whence they have hitherto been misled.'\* Secondly, we have that vast store-house of historical learning, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, a work which has not been superseded, and which should be constantly in the hands of every student of the Celtic Churches in Britain and Ireland. It will be found that later research has generally confirmed and but rarely modified to any considerable extent the judgments at which Ussher had arrived. Thirdly, there is *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, being a valuable collection of some fifty documents, chiefly letters, relating to the early Irish Church. A fresh (critical) edition of this work with illustrative notes would be welcomed by scholars. The antiquities, historical and ecclesiastical, of our own country have in the past scarcely obtained the attention they deserve. In that domain the masterly edition of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, issued by Dr. Reeves (afterwards Bishop of Down and Connor) stands almost alone as a work of the first importance produced by a member of this University.†

\* *Works*, iv. 237.

† Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (1864), deserves grate-

Perhaps the most remarkable of Ussher's labours will be found in the field of early Christian literature. His contribution towards the recovery of the genuine text of the Ignatian Epistles exhibits him at his best. In our own day the late Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, who, for varied learning and for critical sagacity, reminds us of Ussher himself, has established, on a secure basis, to the satisfaction of almost all scholars, the genuineness of what is known as the middle, or shorter, Greek recension ; and on the subject of Ignatian texts, no scholar of either the past or the present is entitled to speak with more weighty authority. It is interesting to observe how Lightfoot's judgment, generally of a cold and severe temper, catches fire when he comes to speak of Ussher. 'By Ussher's labours,' he writes, 'the question was, or ought to have been, set at rest for ever : . . . altogether [Ussher's work] showed not only marvellous erudition, but also the highest critical genius.'\*

After this testimony of Bishop Lightfoot, full recognition ; and since the above was written we have been given a work of first-rate importance in *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, in two volumes (1898), admirably edited by Dr. Bernard and Dr. Atkinson for the *Henry Bradshaw Society*. Dr. Lawlor's *Book of Mulling* and *Rosslyn Missal* are only the beginning, as I should hope, of much of equally excellent work illustrating the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland.

\* The *Apostolic Fathers* (Part II.) ; *St. Ignatius to Polycarp*, vol. i. 233.

it may be a sensibly felt descent to cite the judgments of others. Yet it is no small triumph that Ussher established his main contention to the satisfaction of such scholars as Grotius and Voss, Pearson and Bull, Bentley, and Waterland.

Before passing from this subject, I may be allowed to point out how the extraordinary extent of Ussher's reading served him in good stead in this particular enquiry. The student of the Christian literature of the early part of the second century might not unreasonably assume that the ecclesiastical writings of England in the Middle Ages was not a quarter from which any light could be thrown upon his researches. Yet it was Ussher's acquaintance with the labours of Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln; in the middle of the thirteenth century, and of such obscure writers as Wyclif's opponents, Wodeford and Tissington, that set him on the track which led to the recovery of the lost Epistles. The man of genius, who is full of his subject, sees mysterious hints and intimations where all is void and featureless to the uninstructed and the dull. Clues to the object of his search are furnished by indications as unapparent or unmeaning to others, as are the tokens and marks in the forest by which the keen and trained senses of the savage help him to track his prey. The thrill of pleasure, as step by step he is led on to success,

is not disguised by Ussher, and the natural, though restrained, expression of his feelings illumines and brightens with a touch of personal interest the close-knit argument of the great 'Dissertation on the Epistles of Ignatius, the Martyr.' The transcription and publication two years afterwards (1646), by Isaac Voss, of the Greek text of six of the seven Epistles from the manuscript in the Medicæan Library; and, finally, the publication (more than thirty years after Ussher's death) of the Greek text of the seventh Epistle, that to the Romans, made the crowning verification of the splendid critical sagacity of the Archbishop. These subsequent publications of the Greek text from manuscript sources were, in the world of letters, something like what occurred in the field of comparative anatomy, when excavations in New Zealand gave the world the complete skeleton of the extinct bird, the giant *Diornis*, which the genius of Owen had previously reconstructed with correctness from a few fragments of bone. There is guessing and guessing. Nothing more justly rouses impatience, or more justly exasperates, than those unverifiable conjectures of which the half-instructed in any region of inquiry are so lavish. But the man who truly estimates all the varied conditions of a highly complex problem, and solves the problem by the insight of critical

genius, is rare indeed. Few if any more brilliant achievements are to be found in the field of constructive criticism than Ussher's conjectural ascertainment of the text of Ignatius.

In treating, as I have done, the subject of the life and works of Archbishop Ussher, I am conscious that I have departed considerably from the customary lines of addresses from the pulpit. Yet, in this place, it may be hoped that excuses will be generously found for one who has tried to set before you a picture, sadly inadequate though it is, of a great Christian scholar who was bred within these walls, and whose high ideals of thoroughness and of diligence, whose zeal for knowledge, whose love of truth, whose fairness to opponents, and whose freedom from jealousy towards rivals, have set a great example to us all.

Christian biography has, in every age, been recognised as a stimulating incentive to flagging energies. St. Paul, while recognizing Christ as the great exemplar, would yet point to himself as a model for the imitation of his Corinthian converts—‘Be ye imitators of me, even as I also am of Christ.’ And so it often comes to pass that the example of one of our fellow-servants is, for a special purpose, more helpful to us than the example even of the

Master Himself. Here we have the justification, if justification be needed, for setting before those engaged in study the life of a great student. Study, like every other pursuit, has its own peculiar moral temptations—temptation to intellectual indolence, to contentment with scamped or slovenly work, to unfairness towards others, and jealousy towards labourers in the same field. The rivalries and petty squabbles of scholars are a very frequent and a very humiliating sight. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries abounded in such exhibitions ; and they are not unknown in our own day. In Ussher we have the example set before us of a member of this College for whom, all his life long as he wrought and as he contended, a high Christian ideal was present and potent. Could we wish for ourselves, my brethren, a better gift than that a measure of his spirit should be granted to each one of us, who are sons of the same house ?



BISHOP THOMAS WILSON

PREACHED ON TRINITY SUNDAY, 1896, BY THE REV. JOHN  
GWYNN, D.D., REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY.

## II

### BISHOP THOMAS WILSON

*As He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation ; because it is written, Be ye holy, for I am holy.*

I PETER, i. 15, 16.

TO 'be holy' is something more than to be righteous. This word 'holy' carries us at once out of the range of mere morality into the higher sphere of religion. 'Holiness' is properly and eminently an attribute of the Godhead : to man it can belong only in a secondary sense, as derived from the Divine. And thus it is that the Lawgiver of the Old Testament so repeatedly enforces his precepts of purity, ceremonial and moral, in the form which the Apostle here adopts from him, 'Ye shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy.' To be holy in the absolute and ultimate sense is for God alone : yet for all who seek to be His, there is the duty, and with it the inspiring hope, of attaining holiness of Him and in

Him. At first sight this saying seems a hard one—even terrible—in the contrast it forces on us between the Divine Perfection and the unworthiness of which we are conscious. But the feeling of its hardness passes off, once we apprehend the graciousness that is in the very phrasing of the command—in the very fact that one and the same word declares what He is, and defines the standard of what we are called on to strive to be—holy. When God spake to the children of Israel, saying, ‘Ye shall be holy,’ they were entitled to infer that, in the command, there was implied an assurance that holiness was within their reach—a promise (almost) of strength to help them in the endeavour to make it theirs. Much more then, when, in the New Testament, the same command reappears—reinforced as it comes through the Apostle by the association into which he brings it with the whole range of the Gospel Revelation, the foreknowledge and election of God the Father, the sanctification of the Spirit, the Blood of Jesus Christ, and His Resurrection from the dead—it speaks to us with an assurance that is direct, a promise that has become definite. It connects itself with the great crowning doctrine of the Christian faith—the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which this day specially commends to our thoughts—of the Father, in Whom Holiness has its origin ; the Son, in Whom it has its manifestation ;

the Spirit, in Whom it has its operative power. And thus the 'Holy, Holy, Holy' of the Seraphim, which overpowered the prophet of old with awe, becomes in the hymnody of the Church of Christ, as in the worship of Heaven revealed to St. John in his Apocalypse, at once our praise of God for what He is, and our thanksgiving for what, in the strength of the Father, by the grace of the Son, through the sanctifying work of the Spirit, we are encouraged to trust that we may attain to be.

When, from the contemplation of the Godhead, in this the Christian revelation of the Threefold Personality therein subsisting, which is the proper theme of Trinity Sunday, we pass to the study of any example, however admirable, of mere human worth, one is conscious of a jar—almost a shock—in the transition; of a sense of something not far from profanation in thus bringing the name of even the best and purest of men into association with the Eternal name of our God—the Creator, Redeemer, Comforter—the Almighty, the Allholy. Yet in our text we have at once our justification for the boldness which, without it, might seem irreverent, and our encouragement in it. As I have said, the very form into which the Apostle shapes the command, gives a hope and even a pledge. 'As He is holy, so be ye holy,'—not 'righteous' or 'virtuous,' but 'holy.' In

it man is drawn close to God ; his nature is brought into contact with the Divine Nature. The Holiness which, in the precept of the Law, was set before Israel as an elevating and inspiring ideal—the reflex of the Holiness that is in God, to us, under the Gospel, has become a realizable possibility, through the Incarnation and the Atonement of the Son of God in whom the Divine and the human are one, and by the office of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, and working in man. And thus we may, without presumption, think and speak of Christian men as holy, with a holiness secondary indeed and derivative, yet, within its limits, real and true—an operative power in their hearts and lives. And in so speaking we shall glorify Him who alone is holy in Himself, and is the Origin, the Mediator, the Worker, of holiness in men.

It is because of his eminent holiness that I have fixed on the man whom I have chosen to speak of to you to-day, as a memorable person among the sons of our Alma Mater. When I mention the name of Thomas Wilson, it may be that some of you will at first fail to recognize it as a familiar one. He was not among those who hold a foremost place in the annals of learning, or literature, or philosophy—an Ussher, or a Swift, or a Berkeley. He was not a moving force in the great world, as

was his contemporary, William King, by his political ability, or as, in our own time, William Magee, by his oratorical supremacy. Influence, indeed, he had in his day, and he exercised power to good and practical ends in a sphere limited indeed, yet of important and singularly varied usefulness : and his books are still known, reprinted, and read. But the force which lay behind that influence and guided him in the exercise of that power, and which gives vitality to his writings, was not the force of natural genius, but of holiness wrought by God's grace—the holiness, not of a recluse or an ascetic, but the holiness, far rarer, far more difficult to attain and to maintain—the holiness of a practical man in a life of ceaseless and manifold activity—living in a family, holding a weighty and laborious office in the Church : in his household, husband, father, economist ; among his flock, pastor, ruler, judge—almost Patriarch.

In May, 1682, a little more than two centuries ago, within the last decade of the first century of the life of this College, a lad of eighteen came over here from England, and was entered as a sizar by the name of Thomas Wilson. He was the son of a small farmer of Burton, in Cheshire ; but his mother's brother, Dr. Sherlock, a writer of note in his day, Rector of Winwick, in Lancashire, had undertaken his education from an early age ; and in



due time sent him to complete it in this University where he himself had graduated some fifty years before. It appears that in those days the sons of Lancashire and Cheshire families of higher station than the Wilsons were commonly educated in Dublin because of its easy accessibility by sea. In Wilson's case, however, economy was, no doubt, in some measure the cause why Dublin was chosen, as it had been the cause of Sherlock's own removal hither from Oxford. His entrance as a sizar bespeaks the humble rank of his parents, but is no indication of any special ability or acquirements shown by him ; for sizarship was then given merely on ground of poverty, and not as the reward of merit tested by an examination, such as now marks it for an honourable distinction. In the following year, however (1683), he proved his attainments by competing successfully for scholarship. In 1686 he proceeded Bachelor of Arts, being then in his twenty-third year. In graduation (and previously in matriculation) he was contemporary with a far more conspicuous person—Jonathan Swift. At first his bent seems to have been towards the study and practice of medicine ; but by this time a new influence had entered into his life which determined its direction. In the course of his undergraduate years he had become known to Michael Hewetson

prebendary of Tassaggart in St. Patrick's Cathedral, afterwards Archdeacon of Armagh, a man some twenty years his senior, who, nevertheless, soon became his dearest and most intimate friend. By this good and devout man Wilson was led to seek Holy Orders from Bishop Morton of Kildare, and was accordingly admitted Deacon by him on St. Peter's Day, 29th June, 1686. The Ordination was held in Kildare Cathedral, and was preceded by the consecration of the newly-built Chancel and by a Confirmation on the same day. Throughout these proceedings there is manifest, on the part of all concerned, a genuine and energetic zeal for the good of the Church, that may be admitted in excuse for much that is strange in the details, not only in the undue accumulation of services, but in the irregularities involved. The Ember season was past; Wilson had (so far as appears) no title such as the Canon required; and he wanted five months of the Canonical age. No evidence is forthcoming to show that he ever held any charge, or exercised any clerical function, in Ireland: his name is found in no diocesan list, and it disappears from the College Books in the October following. It is in England, in the February of the next year, that we first find him engaged in pastoral work, under his uncle, Dr. Sherlock, in whose parish of Winwick

(then in the diocese of Chester) he was licensed as Curate to serve the Chapel of New Church Kenyon. It appears that after leaving Dublin in 1686 he never revisited it, except to receive his degree as Master of Arts ten years later; nor did he ever serve in, or in any way keep up his connexion with, the Church of Ireland. But the facts remain, that here he received his University education and Degrees; here the resolve to dedicate himself to the work of the ministry of the Church was formed, or at least fostered into fulfilment; here he was brought into contact with the friend whose Christian example and leading were the decisive force at the critical moment of his life, and an abiding power throughout its course.

At Winwick, a peaceful country village—even now, with its noble Church closed round with secluding verdure, an island of rural quiet freshness in the heart of the busy din and smoke of modern Lancashire—he was once more brought under the eye of the uncle who had imbued him in his boyhood with the principles of the Anglican Church, and was domesticated under his roof. He was not removed from his curacy by Sherlock's death in 1689, the year of the Revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne; nor, though some of his chief friends were among the nonjurors,

does he seem to have felt any hesitation about swearing allegiance to the new sovereigns. He fulfilled in Winwick five years of quiet usefulness, ending in 1692, in which year he accepted the office of Chaplain to William, ninth Earl of Derby, and tutor to his only son. Thus began his life-long relations—soon to lead to what proved to be his life-work—with the noble House of Stanley. His introduction to the Earl no doubt took place through his connexion with Sherlock, who, after being tutor to Charles, the eighth Earl, had been by him presented to Winwick, the richest living in his gift.

The position of a nobleman's Chaplain, at a time when rank and birth were held in unbounded reverence, and when the patron had it in his power to make or mar the fortunes of his dependents, was one to try a man's moral fibre and strength of principle. But Wilson was not of those in whom Christian humbleness sinks into servility, or shrinks from the duty of rebuking evil. The estates of the Stanleys had been sorely curtailed and impoverished in consequence of the fidelity with which the great Earl James, who was beheaded by the Parliamentarians in 1651, and his brave wife, the famous Countess Charlotte, who held Lathom House for the King, had upheld the Royalist cause. Wilson

saw his patron, Earl William, the degenerate grandson of that heroic pair, living a careless life of waste, and sinking into debt and ruin. The timely remonstrance—respectful but firm—is on record, in which the young Chaplain set before him the sin and folly of his way of life, and the duty of reforming it. The patron had the good sense to take the good advice, and the good feeling to take it in good part. And when, little more than a year later, it became Earl William's duty, as Sovereign in the Isle of Man, to fill the office which, though far from being the most richly endowed, was incomparably the most important and dignified, of all that were in his gift—the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, he showed his appreciation of his wise and honest adviser by bestowing—even forcing—it upon him. To this See accordingly Wilson was consecrated, early in 1698, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, being the first graduate of the University of Dublin to attain the Episcopate of the English Church—for though the Isle of Man is not reckoned as part of England, the See is included in the province of York. It is noteworthy that three in all of the Bishops of Sodor and Man have been Dublin graduates—the two who, at long intervals, followed Wilson, being Bishop Crigan in the latter years of the eighteenth century, and, in our own day, Bishop Bardsley, afterwards

translated to Carlisle. But a few years after Wilson's consecration, Chandler, who was elected scholar with him in 1683, and graduated with him in 1686, was elevated to a See in England, Lichfield, and afterwards translated to Durham. Besides these, there is but one Bishop of the sister Church that we can claim as ours, the great orator and prelate who was consecrated to Peterborough in 1868, and died Archbishop of York in 1892.

It might seem but a small field for the energies of a man in his prime—this Diocese, which is an island some thirty miles long, containing but seventeen parishes, poor in those days, and occupied thinly by a half-barbarous people speaking a tongue strange to English ears. But it was a diocese, though narrow in territory, yet absolutely unique in the wideness of range of the duties and responsibilities imposed on its Bishop by the peculiar constitution and usages of the island. Not a little of these still remains ; and the thousands who yearly visit Man see there a picturesque survival of its mediæval state—its Governor with his Council, its Deemsters, its House of Keys, its Tinwald. Of these a living popular novelist has made use as effective accessories to heighten the dramatic effect of his works. But of the Isle of Man, as Wilson found it—or rather, a generation earlier—a truer

picture has been given us by the supreme master of fiction, in a work that belongs to an order apart from the ephemeral modern tale, his romance of *Peveril of the Peak*. There, we see it with the atmosphere of feudal times still hanging round it, a kingdom petty indeed in extent and vassal to England, yet with its own monarch as well as its own legislature and judicature. From the time when the island was granted (in 1406) by King Henry IV. to the Stanleys, the heads of that House, afterwards Earls of Derby, bore the title of 'King'—afterwards 'Lord'—of (or *in*) Man, and exercised sovereign rights in their little realm. And they held that realm until it passed by intermarriage to the House of Murray, Duke of Athole, by whom it was finally surrendered to King George III. in 1765. Among the sovereign prerogatives of the rulers of Man was that of nominating its Bishop—a right which the ninth Earl exercised to his own perpetual honour, and to the abiding benefit of his people, when he fixed his choice on Wilson.

The Bishop's position was, as I have said, one of very diversified responsibility. As Chief Pastor over the clergy of the Island, charged with the care of the moral and spiritual well-being of its people, he had an office of more than usual difficulty by reason of the extreme backwardness and poverty



of priests and people alike, and of the fact that the Manx language (a Celtic dialect) was their common speech, to the exclusion, in great measure, of English. He was also President of his Diocesan Court for spiritual causes, and of his Diocesan Synod, whose canons were to be enforced by that Court: for the Acts of Parliament which in England restrained the Church in her Convocations and her Courts, in enacting and enforcing canons, were held not to apply to the Lordship of Man; so that in the Diocese of Man the legislative and executive functions of the Church were a living reality actively exercised, controlled only by the Convocation of the Province of York, and by the appellate jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York as Metropolitan. Again, the Bishop of Man, though not a member of the House of Lords like his English brethren, had, and still has, his official place in the legislature of the Island. He sits first in rank in the Council, which is the Upper Chamber of that Legislature, and his Archdeacon and two Vicars-General also sit in it in virtue of their offices. Moreover, in Wilson's time, the Bishop, in virtue of his temporality, ranked as Baron, and in that capacity held Courts Baron for the trial of a defined class of cases, subject to an appeal to the highest temporal Court of the Island. It is obvious how readily, in

this dual capacity, the Bishop might find himself involved in difficult questions touching the limits of his authority and the appeal from his judgments.

Such was the field of Bishop Wilson's labours, for the rest of his long patriarchal life, in an episcopate exercised far beyond a half century. Here, in the fulness of his years, and of the love and veneration of his clergy and people, he entered into rest in 1755, in the ninety-second year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his consecration.

It would be impossible, within the limits of a sermon, to describe, even in outline, the course of that prolonged period of wise and beneficent rule. It was a patriarchal rule, touching every side of the life of a simple people and a rustic priesthood. He lived among them ; rarely leaving the island save for necessary business, undertaken in their interest and not his own. He lived for them ; accepting literally, and faithfully acting on, the principle that all he had he held as God's steward for God's poor. This was no new rule of life for him : even as a Curate, as soon as he had an income—it was but thirty pounds in all—he devoted one-tenth of it to charity. When his promotion to be Chaplain increased it to fifty pounds, he raised his scale to one-fifth. When he became Bishop it mounted to one-third—in his latter years to one-

half ; though the endowments of his See yielded little over three hundred pounds yearly. And this scanty revenue, so unsparingly curtailed, he steadfastly refused to increase by holding with it *in commendam* a benefice in England which was offered to him by Lord Derby. Not even for the means of greater charity would he break the resolution which he had formed from the first, never to be a pluralist, holding a parish which he could only serve by deputy. The pastoral charge (he held) was to be fulfilled in person. He visited, and urged his clergy to be constant in visiting, from house to house. He was diligent in inquiring into the moral condition and conduct of his flock, and strict, with primitive severity, in enforcing the censurés of the Church (in his hands no dead letter) against evil-doers ; while he was no less prompt in the far more congenial duty of restoring and consoling the penitent of whose sincere contrition he was assured. Every Sunday he took part in the services of some Church in his diocese, seeking to stimulate the diligence of his clergy by his presence, and to encourage them by sharing in their duties. He enforced the decorous performance of public worship and the due repairs of Churches, to the cost of which he contributed largely, and obtained farther help by his influence with the Lord of the Island. He gathered into his

training College young men who showed promise of fitness for the sacred office ; and for months or sometimes years before ordaining them received them as inmates into his house, where he instructed them out of his own stores of learning, and laboured to guide and form their spiritual life. In every parish he took care to have a school at work under a competent teacher ; and he anticipated modern legislation by making it compulsory on all parents to send their children to these schools to acquire the elements of secular knowledge. For religious education also he did not fail to make provision by enforcing the practice of catechizing ; and to this end he issued a Catechism in Manx, the first book printed in that language. And by printing and circulating the Gospel of St. Matthew in Manx he began the work, completed by his successors, of giving the Manxmen the Bible in their own tongue. He himself had, within a few years, acquired that tongue so as to be able, not only to supervise these publications, but to converse freely in Manx with his people. As a preacher he was diligent, and found his way to the hearts and consciences of his hearers. His published Sermons are still worth reading as examples of plain-spoken earnestness, and of a certain homely eloquence that comes rather from the force of the truths they present

than from any literary quality of style. Long after his death (we are assured) the clergy of the Island could always attract a large congregation by announcing that one of Bishop Wilson's sermons would be preached. Then, in another aspect, we find him careful of the material well-being and progress of his people—an improving landowner, reclaiming and fertilizing waste tracts, studying and spreading the knowledge of better methods of agriculture, which he showed on a model farm within the episcopal demesne. In this he was no doubt reverting to the early habits and experience acquired on his father's Cheshire farm; but he was assisted and advised by a trusty steward whom he brought over from Wales. Yet it is recorded that in after years old people in talking of their recollections of the master and the man, used to say that the Bishop was the better farmer of the two.

Upon this long life of useful homely service, trouble broke in now and then. Sometimes there were seasons of scarcity, when the Bishop's resources and vigilant energy in importing foodstuffs were strained to their utmost to save the people from starvation. Again and again cases of gross moral evil came to light, painful, but necessary, to be dealt with. There were, as everywhere there will be, sorrows—losses, bereavements, disappointments.

Two chief trials that befell him I will touch on. One was domestic—the loss of his wife; a woman worthy of such a husband, a true helpmeet, who was taken from him after barely ten years of wedded love, leaving him, with but one son surviving of the four children she had borne him, to nearly fifty years of widowhood. The other was a public matter affecting him as Bishop. It arose in 1721, the twenty-fourth year of his Episcopate, out of a sentence of suspension pronounced by him on his Archdeacon for a course of direct and persistent disobedience. Against this sentence the Archdeacon appealed, not to the Metropolitan Court of York, but to the civil power, in the person of the Governor (Lord Derby's deputy), whose Chaplain he was, and who was personally concerned in the matter on his wife's behalf — the difference between the Bishop and Archdeacon having arisen out of a charge against her of slander spoken. The Governor sentenced the Bishop and his Vicars-General to heavy fines, and, on their refusal to submit to his assumed jurisdiction, threw them into prison. The then Lord Derby (brother of Wilson's patron, whose only son had died before him) upheld the arbitrary act of his representative, and the Bishop and his companions had to endure an incarceration, aggravated by many circumstances of hardship and indignity, for two months.

At the end of that time, however, on preferring their appeal to the King in Council, they were released, and the Bishop was conducted back to his palace by a great multitude rejoicing in the liberation of him whom they knew as, in fact as well as in title, their Father in God. Two years later the sentences against him were finally reversed by the supreme authority to which he had appealed. The King (George I.), who seems to have taken an intelligent interest in the case, and to have formed a just estimate of Wilson's worth, offered him the Bishopric of Exeter. He was not to be tempted to accept this advancement: 'his Diocese' (as he afterwards explained in speaking of his refusal) 'had been his wife for many years; he would not leave her now in his old age because she was poor. The impression left by his conduct was not forgotten at Court; for when the Bishop, at a later time, had an audience of George II., the King (a man of no reverential spirit) knelt to ask his blessing. And when he appeared at a Drawing Room, Queen Caroline, with her characteristic insight, said to one that stood by, 'Here comes a Bishop who has not come to ask for translation.' And she summed up her judgment of him in the brief phrase, 'A very honest man.' The expression was commonplace, but it meant much coming from that keen-witted

woman, who knew so well how rare a thing true honesty was among those who attended her receptions. A professed eulogist might have laboured through a long panegyric without characterizing him so truly as she did in those few homely words. For 'honest' he was above all things, with that high honesty which is of holiness, which measures human obligations by the Divine standard, and lies in a conscience void of offence toward God as well as toward men.

It remains that I should speak briefly of that which underlay all Bishop Wilson's work, and inspired all that life of multiform activity in unwearied well-doing.

In the traditions of the Isle of Man—where to have been under the hand of Bishop Wilson was long regarded as a title of honour—he has left an abiding memory as the great pastor, the wise and strong ruler, the universal benefactor. But in the mind of the Church at large he lives, and will live, as the author of the *Maxims*, the *Instructions for the Lord's Supper*, and the *Sacra Privata*. And rightly so; for this is his claim to the thankful reverence of all Christian people, that he has taken and holds a foremost place among those whose writings serve to inspire and foster in readers the devotional temper—among the trainers of the spirit



of man for communion with God. In all the manifold aspects in which his character reveals itself in that long life of doing and suffering—in his benevolence to the needy, and in his correction of evil-doers; in his patience under calamity, and in his courage to resist oppression, he showed himself (if ever man did) to be, in the words of our text, ‘holy in all manner of conversation,’ with a holiness, not artificially reared in the cell of a recluse, but the healthy growth of the open air of his busy life as head of a household and ruler of a diocese. And he has himself told us, in one of his best known maxims, how such holiness is to be attained. ‘He who has learned to pray’ (he writes) ‘has found out the secret of a holy life.’ And it is characteristic of him that he adds the qualification drawn evidently from his own experience: ‘In order to dispose our hearts to devotion, the active life is to be preferred to the contemplative.’ So again: ‘To be doing good to mankind disposes the soul most powerfully to devotion.’ Thus, in this good man’s life, active beneficence, prayer, and holy living were inseparably bound together. Beneficence was for him the stimulus of prayer, and holiness was its fulfilment. It was his practice, in every juncture of life, whatever he might be called on to do or to bear, to lay all before God in prayer, and (happily

for us) to commit his prayers to writing. In these written remains there survives for us at once a treasury of devout thoughts, and a record of his inner life in its Godward aspect—

‘Votiva veluti descripta tabella  
Vita senis.’

His place is thus, not among our divines who are great in learning or philosophy, but with the devotional writers—with George Herbert and Bishop Kerr—or (to go farther back for a parallel) with the author of the *De Imitatione Christi*. I have not said, I do not believe, that in this admirable Bishop’s example is to be found the safest guidance in the details of the pastoral charge. He lived and worked in an island where much of the usages and traditions of feudal times survived: the exceptional duties attached to the position of Bishop of Man made proceedings possible and appropriate there and then, which elsewhere would be ineffectual or even mischievous. And it may be, that in the course, whether of his charities or of his severities, his judgment was sometimes at fault or his methods ill-advised. But the devotional spirit that actuated his life and inspired his writings is for all men, in all places, and at all times: it above all else—it, if there were nothing else memorable about the man, is his one

and sufficient title to everlasting remembrance. To the supremacy of Wilson in this region—in the sphere of aspiration towards God—a singular testimony has been borne in recent times by an unlooked-for witness. Among the leaders of thought of these latter years, there is none on whom Wilson seems to have left so deep an impress, none who has spoken of him with such reverential appreciation, as the philosophic poet and critic, Matthew Arnold. He was a man whose profoundly sceptical temper might seem to set him at the very opposite pole from Wilson and the faith which filled his whole being. Yet, it is he who thus wrote of Wilson:—‘To the most sincere ardour and unction Bishop Wilson unites that downright honesty and plain good sense by which our English race has brought religion so much into practical life, and has done its allotted part in promoting upon earth the Kingdom of God.’ . . . ‘With ardour and unction religion may still be fanatical: with honesty and goodness it may still be prosaic; and the fruit of honesty and goodness, united with ardour and unction, is often only a prosaic religion held fanatically. Bishop Wilson’s excellence lies in the balance of the four qualities, and in a fulness and perfection of them. His unction is so perfect and in such happy alliance with his goodness, that it becomes tenderness and

fervent charity. His goodness is so perfect and in such happy alliance with his unction, that it becomes moderation and insight. While, therefore, the type of religion exhibited [in his writings] is English, it is of a far higher kind than is in general reached by his countrymen ; and yet, being English, it is possible and attainable for them.'

A worthy eulogium, in truth ; the noble utterance of the earnest sceptic in his unsatisfied longing after truth and righteousness, of his reverent admiration for the saint who had sought and found holiness through his faith in the all-sufficing word, 'Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.'

BISHOP BERKELEY

PREACHED ON TRINITY MONDAY, 1897, BY REV. JOHN HENRY  
BERNARD, D.D., FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND ARCHBISHOP  
KING'S LECTURER IN DIVINITY.

### III

#### BISHOP BERKELEY

*This is Eternal Life, that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.*

ST. JOHN, xvii. 3.

THIS was the text selected by George Berkeley, then at the height of his fame, when preaching at the Church of St. Mary-le-bow the annual sermon for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the year 1732. He had lately returned from New England, having failed in the chivalrous enterprise which had drawn him across the Atlantic ; and he seized the great opportunity to speak with unfaltering conviction of the knowledge of God which is itself Eternal Life as ‘ the greatest good that can befall us, the very end of our being, and that alone which can crown and satisfy our wishes, and without which we shall be ever restless and

uneasy.’\* We are not now concerned with the matter of the discourse ; but his text was not only the text of his sermon, it was the text of his life. To know God ; that is the first necessity of reason, for man is made in the image of God. But how is such knowledge possible ? What, indeed, is knowledge at all ? It is the earliest question of the inquirer who desires to understand the mystery of his own life and thought. What is knowledge ? Who am I that desires to know ? And what is the significance of these external objects which seem to present themselves in the course of my experience, as distinct from my thinking self ?

These are the questions which exercised the mind of the strange boy, George Berkeley, when an undergraduate of this College in the opening years of the eighteenth century. The atmosphere of the place was, perhaps, not wholly unfavourable to his mental growth. The College was rapidly recovering from the troubles of the Revolution ; and its vigour was not only indicated by the outward signs of prosperity which its new buildings and courts displayed, but by the spirit of reaction against received ways of speculation then beginning to be apparent. Newton’s *Principia* had fascinated not only professed mathematicians, but all thoughtful men, by

\* *Works* (Fraser’s edition), iii. 236.



the wide view of the universe and its laws which it opened out. And the subtleties of the schoolmen, already discredited among Englishmen by the teaching of Bacon, were being replaced in University studies by Locke's sober treatise on the *Human Understanding*. In Dublin, both the Provost and the Archbishop were men of mark among the philosophical writers of the day ; and the names of Peter Browne and of William King are not yet forgotten among us.

This was the atmosphere in which Berkeley found himself when he left Kilkenny School in the year 1700 and in which he passed the next thirteen years of his life. Elected a scholar of the house while yet a boy, in due course he gained his Fellowship, 'the only reward of learning which the kingdom of Ireland hath to bestow,' as one of his biographers caustically observes.\* His ordination in the College Chapel followed, with advancement as time went on, to the usual minor offices of the College. But all through these thirteen years, whether as boy or man, teacher or taught, the problems on which his best thoughts were bestowed, were concerned with those ultimate mysteries of knowledge and existence of which I have spoken. The pages of his *Commonplace Book* still preserve his first efforts to formulate his

\* See Fraser's *Life*, p. 23.

opinions on these high topics ; and it is interesting to read that he founded a College Society for the discussion of the ' New Philosophy,' which reminds us in many of its regulations of the debating societies of our own day. This is not the occasion on which to expound the Berkeleian system, and yet a word or two must be said, if we are to understand in any degree the originality of his genius, or the extraordinary reputation which this young Irishman had achieved by the time he was five-and-twenty.

I. Previous speculation had accepted the popular distinction between mind and matter as sufficiently exact to serve as a basis for theory ; and the word 'matter' was freely used in all the philosophical treatises of the time. But Berkeley declared that when people speak of 'matter,' they speak of what no man can understand, for the word has no meaning at all. Sights and sounds, tastes and smells, these are the true realities with which we are concerned ; but to affirm the existence of something beyond and behind the qualities which can be perceived by the senses, is to use words without any ideas corresponding to them, and this is the universal blunder of speculative writers, who 'first raise a dust and then complain that they cannot see.' The thesis that matter, apart from its qualities, is only a fiction

of the metaphysicians, is pressed home by Berkeley with a relentless logic which is still unanswered, and with that wealth of illustration and beauty of style which render his writings the most attractive in the whole range of English philosophical literature. It is not surprising that such a doctrine as this, however cautiously and skilfully expounded, met with ridicule at the first. It was all but inevitable that the teaching of Berkeley, like the teaching of Socrates, should be decried as leading to universal scepticism, and that its author should be counted by men of the world as affording one more illustration of the bewildering effects of metaphysic on the most promising genius. The inscription below the window placed in our Chapel in Berkeley's honour sufficiently indicates the temper with which his speculations were received by many even in a later age. 'When the people heard him, they were astonished at his doctrine.'

But what was Berkeley's own opinion of his work? It was this, that far from confounding the sources of knowledge, he alone had purified the stream. He claimed to have shown where knowledge might be sought, to have demonstrated that spirit, not matter, is the last reality which we reach, the only active force in the world of which we can know anything. He declares as a 'new principle' that nothing exists

independent of perception or will. Not indeed that corn does not grow or rivers run when we are not gazing upon them, but that the only meaning we can offer to ourselves of *existence* is that what we call the existing thing is *perceived*; if not by men, yet by God, the Universal Spirit, who speaks to mankind by the sensations which they daily and hourly receive. And thus we come upon the Being of God, not as a matter for fine-drawn argument, but as the very condition of the coherence and sanity of our experience. Do you call this novel doctrine, says Berkeley? Truly yes, I have called no man master. My thoughts are my own. *Neminem transcripsi*, he proudly writes. But sceptical? Nay: 'The same principles, which at first view lead to Scepticism, pursued to a certain point, bring men back to common sense.'\*

How very imperfect and crude such a sketch as this is, those will know who have studied the history of western philosophy. I only desire to emphasise two or three points. First, the courage and independence of this teaching. And secondly the fact that, be it true or false, it has coloured all later metaphysics. More deeply than any other Irishman, Berkeley has affected the main current of speculative opinion. He stands between Locke and Hume as

\* *Works*, i. 360.

one of the immediate precursors of modern Idealism. And mark that this philosophy—however bold and venturesome it be—is still a Christian philosophy. It is no slight thing to be able to say that the greatest thinker of his age, the greatest figure in the history of European speculation whom our University has trained, was one, who, like Origen, and Augustine, and Malebranche, and Pascal, found perfect intellectual freedom in ‘bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.’\*

II. A Christian philosopher: Berkeley was more than a philosopher; it was not on account of his philosophy that Kant calls him ‘the good Berkeley.’ And we have now to think of him, not as a philosopher, but as a philanthropist; not as a student in his cloister, but as a citizen of the world. For Berkeley did not spend his life at Trinity College. Through the good offices of Swift he was introduced to all that was best in London society, where the charm of his personality served to spread more widely the fame which his extraordinary intellectual powers had already gained for him. The man who was the associate of Swift and Butler, to whom Pope assigned ‘every virtue under heaven,’ was at no loss for friends. ‘So much understanding,’ says Atterbury in his oft-quoted panegyric, ‘so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had

\* 2 Cor. x. 5.

been the portion of any but angels till I saw this gentleman.\* Term after term of absence was granted to him by the authorities of his College, more lenient in the matter of discipline than would be possible in these busier days of ours ; and eight years of travel and of congenial society had passed away when he returned to Dublin. He was now a great man, as the world counts greatness ; and high ecclesiastical preferment was only a question of time. Money came to him in a curious and romantic fashion ; for poor Esther Vanhomrigh, when her heart was broken by Swift, bequeathed to Berkeley some of her private fortune. The Deanery of Derry quickly followed, and his connexion with this College, of which he was now a Senior Fellow, ceased in 1724. But Dean Berkeley had a side to his character which had not hitherto been understood. *Non sibi sed toti* was the motto he chose for himself. And he was sick at heart when he reflected on the decay of religion and of morality among the upper classes in these islands. There were better things on which a man might spend his life than a learned leisure ; and in his dreams he travelled beyond the limits of our older civilisations to a new country—

‘ Where men shall not impose for truth and sense,  
The pedantry of courts and schools.’ †

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\* *Life*, p. 59.

† *Works*, iii. 232.

America at that day was to the Englishman in some respects like what India is for us. It was the most important of our colonial possessions, and for the well-being of its native peoples England lay under a great responsibility. And Berkeley conceived the bold idea of establishing a Missionary College in Bermuda 'for the better supplying (as he phrased it) of churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity.' Let Swift tell the story as he told it to the Lord Lieutenant of the day. 'He is an absolute philosopher,' said the cynical Dean, 'with respect to money, titles, and power ; and for three years past has been struck with a notion of founding a University at Bermudas by a charter from the Crown. He has seduced several of the hopefulest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all in the fairest way for preferment ; but in England his conquests are greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. . . . He most exorbitantly proposes a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, fifty pounds for a Fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break if his Deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal.'\* The spirit which had sent forth Columba to preach the Gospel to the islands of the North was not dead ;

\* *Life*, p. 102.

and the Divine voice came to Berkeley as it had come to Columba with the imperious message, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee.'

We may linger for a moment over this chivalrous project, for, if I mistake not, we may trace in the plan, sketched by Berkeley, many features which the nineteenth century, with a larger experience of missionary effort, has found essential to its success. He saw that the surest token of the progress of Christianity in any new country would be the establishment of a native ministry. To this the efforts of missionaries must be directed, and in order that the foundations of this great work should be truly laid it was needful that the pioneers who went forth should be men of high attainments and of unspotted lives. 'The clergy sent over to America,' he writes, 'have proved, too many of them, very meanly qualified, both in learning and morals, for the discharge of their office. And indeed little can be expected from the example or instruction of those who quit their native country on no other motive than that they are unable to procure a livelihood in it, which is known to be often the case.' . . . But 'supplied' the Americans 'must be with such as can be picked up in England or Ireland, until a nursery of learning for the education of the natives is



founded.’\* We have learnt, though tardily, the wisdom of these quiet words.

For his new College Berkeley sought and obtained a Charter from the Crown; and a large sum of money was provided by private friends for the initial expenses of the enterprise. Parliament was induced to promise £20,000 towards its accomplishment. He met, indeed, with much opposition, as might have been anticipated. ‘Men of narrow minds,’ he tells us, ‘have a peculiar talent at objection, being never at a loss for something to say against whatsoever is not of their own proposing.’† But his ardent spirit overbore all objections; and it was not the least wonderful result of his contagious enthusiasm that he persuaded three of his colleagues, brother Fellows of Trinity College, to abandon their prospects at home and cast in their lot with him.‡ We are not unfamiliar in our own time with the spectacle of men giving up much that the world prizes most, in obedience to the call of their Divine Master. But in the eighteenth century it was counted little less than a miracle that a Dean should abandon his deanery, and a scholar his academic leisure with the single desire to bring the Gospel to men of another race and country.

\* *Works*, iii. 216, 217.

† *Ibid.*, iii. 225.

‡ Their names are worthy of record: William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King.

The sequel of the story you know. Berkeley never reached Bermuda. He spent two years in New England with his young wife and some friends, waiting for the promised assistance from the British Parliament, which never came. And at last a cynical, though not altogether unfriendly, letter from Sir Robert Walpole informed him that his project had failed. In the absence of the head that had planned, and the eloquent tongue that had pleaded the cause of the strange enterprise, the *vis inertiae* of custom, the love of money, the corruption of political partisanship, proved too strong. And so Dr. Berkeley returned to London with impoverished fortune, but with unabated courage, and endowed with that larger and more genial wisdom which trial and discipline bring to the brave and wise.

III. Courage and wisdom : they are the two notes of his life. I have tried to speak of the first. The story of his later years will abundantly illustrate the second. The period of storm and stress was now past ; and the offer soon came of an Irish Bishopric, though a poor one if measured by money standards. Berkeley was consecrated Bishop of Cloyne at Old St. Paul's Church, Dublin, in 1734 ; and in the quiet seclusion of his country See, he spent the next twenty years, still the same 'absolute philosopher with respect to money, titles, and power'

that Swift had found him. When the Irish Primacy is vacant, this is the spirit in which he replies to the suggestion of advancement: 'I am no man's rival or competitor in this matter. I am not in love with feasts, and crowds, and visits, and late hours, and strange faces, and a hurry of affairs often insignificant. For my own private satisfaction I had rather be master of my time than wear a diadem. I repeat these things to you, that I may not seem to have declined all steps to the Primacy out of singularity, or pride, or stupidity, but from solid motives. As for the argument from the opportunity of doing good, I observe that duty obliges men in high stations not to decline occasions of doing good; but duty doth not oblige men to solicit such high stations.'\*

\* *Life*, p. 313. The same spirit shows itself in an interesting letter in the possession of the Bishop of Ripon (hitherto unpublished), written, in 1745, by Berkeley to Dr. Clarke, the Vice-Provost of Trinity College, who had apparently solicited his good offices in the matter of preferment:—'I would not suppose your affairs are at all the worse for my not being in towne; for, to speak the truth, I would have been of no use with my Lord Lieutenant, unless he had given me a decent opportunity of speaking to the point, by consulting or advising with me about it, a thing which I had no right to expect. I have been told His Excellency expressed a particular esteem for you publickly at the Castle, on occasion of the compliment you made him on his first arrival. This personal prepossession in your favour, grounded on his own sense of your merit, is, in my opinion, worth twenty recommendations, even of those great men in power who alone have a right to make them. To conclude, I wish you all success in your undertakings, being with sincere regard,' &c. Berkeley's rebuke to the worthy Vice-Provost is very dexterously expressed.

*Duty obliges men in high stations not to decline occasions of doing good.* And certainly Berkeley was not the man to neglect those works of practical usefulness which a Bishop might encourage in a poor diocese like Cloyne. His adventures into the field of therapeutics may excite a smile ; but his concern for the welfare of the peasantry was exhibited otherwise than by his advocacy of the healing virtues of Tar Water. His appeal, for instance, to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland is one of the most remarkable episcopal utterances ever published in this country. 'Why should we not,' he asks, 'conspire in one and the same design to promote the common good of our country? '\* And he was not a prophet of smooth things. 'Indolence in dirt,' says this keen observer, 'is a terrible symptom . . . [and] alas ! our poor Irish are wedded to dirt on principle. It is with some of them a maxim that the way to make children thrive is to keep them dirty. And I do verily believe that the familiarity with dirt, contracted and nourished from their infancy, is one great cause of that sloth which attends them in every stage of life. Were children but brought up in an abhorrence of dirt, and obliged to keep themselves clean, they would have something to do, whereas they now do nothing.'† Here was plain

\* *Works*, iii. 437.

† *Ibid*, iii. 445.

speaking indeed ; and it is much to the credit of the parties concerned and an eloquent witness to the high esteem in which the Bishop was held by all classes, that he was publicly thanked for his intervention by the men whom he had addressed. But the Bishop did not confine himself to language such as this. We at least cannot forget that he was the first Irishman of position to recommend the admission of Roman Catholics to this College.\* For he recognised that the University had duties to the nation which were not discharged by providing instruction for a favoured class.

In the encouragement of tolerance, of industry, of learning, among all ranks of his countrymen the autumn of life was serenely passed. Philosophy, he taught men by precept and by example, was no idle dreaming. 'Truth itself,' he had said, 'is valued by the public, as it hath an influence and is felt in the course of life. You may confute a whole shelf of schoolmen and discover many speculative truths, without any great merit towards your country.' And in the pursuit of truth, the quest after knowledge, he is no less eager than in the days of old. He is not indeed so proudly confident. The great philosophical treatise in which he has embodied the mature thoughts of his old age is far different in tone

\* See *Works*, iii. 371.

from the essays of his youth. He is not now the Socrates of the *Apology*, on his defence, but the Socrates of the *Republic* and the *Timæus*. Not that he departs from the principles with which he began—that were impossible ; but he has learnt that the world's wisdom is not contained in the dark saying that *esse* is *percipi*. The knowledge of God is still to be sought by the path on which he travelled in youthful hope ; and the knowledge is man's highest wisdom. But we know 'in part' only, though indeed *we know*. 'Minute philosophy,' the charlatanism of the shallow writers of the time he is still as bold to unmask as in those matchless dialogues which were the fruit of his American leisure. But he has less temper, as life advances, for controversy. And as in pure philosophy, so in the region of theology. He lets us see once or twice how meanly he thought of religious disputations. 'The Church would thrive and flourish beyond all opposition if some certain persons minded piety more than politics.'\* 'If we proportioned our zeal to the importance of things ; if we could love men whose opinions we do not approve ; if we knew the world more and liked it less ; if we had a due sense of the Divine perfection and our own defects' ;† then could we be in the way to promote

\* *Works*, ii. 91.

† *Ibid.*, iii. 250.

the knowledge of God and of His Blessed Son our Lord.

As we recall on this day of thanksgiving, my brethren, the memories of past generations, as we sing 'the praise of great men and of our fathers who begat us,' we cannot but feel that the inheritance of honour to which we have succeeded brings with it inspiration no less than example. The study of such a life as that of George Berkeley surely has its lessons of courage and wisdom for all of us, old and young, teachers and taught, in these altered days. The splendid courage which will not shrink from misrepresentation in the effort to proclaim what is felt to be true: the still more noble courage, whose root, as Plato tells us, is a knowledge of the things really to be feared,\* which will face the difficulties and obligations of life without the protection of popular approval: that highest courage of all, which will make the venture of faith, in spite of fightings and fears within and without, which will count all things but loss 'for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord'; these will still appeal to young and ardent souls.

But it is no unthinking or unreasoned venture which Berkeley will commend to you. The religious life is the truly rational life. 'This is Eternal Life,

\* See *Republic*, iv. 7.

to know Thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.' For He who is the Way and the Life is also the Truth. Let Berkeley's voice speak to us once more of the spirit in which that highest wisdom shall be gained. 'Truth is the cry of all, but the game of a few. Certainly, where it is the chief passion, it doth not give way to vulgar cares and views ; nor is it contented with a little ardour in the early time of life ; active, perhaps, to pursue, but not so fit to weigh and revise. He that would make a real progress in knowledge must dedicate his age as well as his youth, the later growth as well as first fruits, at the altar of Truth.'\*

\* *Works*, ii. 508.



BISHOP JOHN STEARNE

PREACHED ON TRINITY MONDAY, 1898, BY REV. JOHN  
PENTLAND MAHAFFY, D.D., FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE,  
AND PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

## IV

### BISHOP JOHN STEARNE

*Freely ye have received, freely give.*

ST. MATT. x. 8.

NO man was ever born with stronger ties to this College than Bishop John Stearne. He was great-grandnephew of Archbishop James Ussher, and so connected with the famous group of Dublin citizens to whom this foundation owes its origin, and whose devotion saved, protected, and promoted it in the desponding days of its infancy, in the agitated years of its persecuted and straitened youth.

If any single life can illustrate the trials and tempests of the time it is that of the father of him whom we commemorate to-day. The elder Stearne, brought up and educated with distinction in this, the College of his august grand-uncle—then not only an Archbishop, but a scholar of European reputation, the adviser and friend of kings—had hardly

completed his course and gained his Fellowship when he was driven from the country by the Cromwellians, and found a refuge in Sidney Sussex, Cambridge. For seven years he prosecuted his studies in this haven of rest (as he calls it), inso-much that in one of his books he addresses Cambridge as his *Alma Mater*. Then he migrates to Oxford, where he is received with the same hospitality, thus illustrating the solidarity that already existed in our early days between the three great Universities. This solidarity, which made it easy to borrow men and ideas freely from one another, is one which our present rulers will do well to promote, for therein lies the true difference between an Imperial seat of learning and a provincial Academy.

Returning to Dublin when the Puritan violence had abated and things were drifting into order, the elder Stearne resumed his connexion with this College, and showed the great uses of his exile by professing not only medicine, which he presently adopted as a practical profession, but Law, Hebrew, and if we may judge from his many books, Morals and Theology of a higher and broader school than his clerical colleagues. Brought back again to this College from his profession, after the Restoration, and appointed a Senior Fellow, he promoted the founding of a special Hall for medical students, and a special course of study ;

he was thus the father of the College of Physicians in Dublin, and named as its President in the Charter of Charles II. In the midst of all this busy practical work, of which we know but the salient facts, we have the record of his inner life in the works of meditation and of piety which would be remarkable in any age for their wide learning and philosophic depth. The largest of them, *Medela animi*, is, as the title tells us, not devoted to the healing of the body, but of the soul. These tracts and books, all written in pure and fluent Latin, show us the spiritual man, whose intimates were Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and not the rude pietists or confident empirics of the 17th century. They show us that his medical work, the practical labour of his life, was but the outer and lesser side of a philosopher and a saint, whose brief and brilliant career well deserves a separate discourse. For he has not kept his rightful position in our memories; nothing has been done to remind us of him here except the concealing of a neglected epitaph upon the outer wall at the back of this Chapel, over the equally neglected monument of our real founder and builder, Luke Challoner.

It might well be supposed that the example and teaching of such a father would tell upon his son. But he died at the age of forty-five, when the boy was but nine years old. Yet, stronger than example were the

hereditary influences of his distinguished race, and the hereditary intimacy with this College which, in due time, produced their effects upon the younger Stearne.

Born in Dublin in 1660, sent to St. Patrick's school, he entered in 1674, and passed through his course, apparently without distinction, for I cannot find that he ever competed either for Scholarship or Fellowship, the only prizes then recorded in the books of the College. But that he made the Ministry his sole object appears from his ordination at the earliest limit of age, under the patronage of Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, whom he served as domestic chaplain. His preferments in that diocese were various ; we know that he was vicar of Trim when he published in 1697 his manual for the Visitation of the Sick—an excellent little book full of practical advice, in amplification of the office in our Book of Common Prayer. How far the publication of such a handbook in Latin implies an education among the parochial clergy which they do not now possess, I leave an open question. The purity and elegance of his style certainly show that our author had received an excellent training in writing Latin, and had made good use of his knowledge in reading Latin theology.\*

\* His father did not live long enough to educate him. It proves therefore the existence of good general teaching in this College.

We find from his title-page that he had already proceeded at the earliest possible standing to the degree of D.D. This successful devotion to theological studies, and the personal kindness of the man, were the probable causes of his promotion to be Chancellor of St. Patrick's in 1702, and in this office he delivered to Convocation at St. Patrick's in 1703 an eloquent Latin discourse upon the duties of the clergy, especially towards Protestant Dissenters. Against Papists—he calls them *Papicolæ*, as against Quakers—*Tremuli seu Quassatores*—he vindicates the ancient and pure traditions of the Church of Ireland. These are the only products of his pen now known to us, though he lived and worked over sixty years in our Church. His predilection for Latin was evidently inherited from his eminent father, whose many books had all been published in that tongue. We feel, as regards the learning of both father and son, a certain aristocratic tone, in this familiar use of the language of scholars which is in accordance with the other traditions they have left behind them.\*

\* Here I may turn aside to correct a confusion in the notices of his life, and in the catalogues of old libraries which cost me some trouble to unravel. There are extant two English sermons of merit—one of them in commemoration of the victory at the Boyne—by John Stearne, D.D., generally ascribed to the future Bishop. The author of these sermons was curate of St. Nicholas Within, and seems

In 1704, with the strong support of Swift, who was then his friend, he was elected Dean of St. Patrick's—an office in which we first hear of his large hospitality and charity.\*

In 1713 he was appointed Bishop of Dromore—Swift says by *his* influence, at all events for the purpose of leaving the deanery open for that disappointed person, and Stearne at once set himself to improving or re-building the mansion-house of the See, as it was then called. Upon his translation to the greater See of Clogher in 1717, he seems to have made that then wild and uncivilized place celebrated for hospitality and good cheer. In 1721 he was appointed our Vice-Chancellor and to the end of his life diligently attended the Commencements, not to speak of the Visitations, driving up in his coach from Clogher to Dublin. This we know from the fact that in July 1742, the papers of the day report

to have been an old man long working there in 1699, whereas our Stearne, his namesake, in that year still in Meath, never held this post, though as Dean of St. Patrick's he was nominally curate of the neighbouring parish St. Nicholas Without, from 1704 to 1713.

\* It will interest those connected with that Cathedral to know that under the Dean and Chapter as Rectors of the parish of St. Nicholas Without, the Dean held the curacy of that parish during the whole tenure of his deanery, but for the express purpose of devoting the salary to the building of a new Church which was required for the division of the parish shortly afterwards effected. So that for this pluralism, though he was blamed by Swift, no censure is due, except that the precedent was not a good one.



that the venerable Vice-Chancellor, then eighty-two years of age, was stopped in his coach and robbed by highwaymen, on the confines of Cos. Monaghan and Louth, when travelling to Dublin to hold our Commencements.

His hereditary connexion with this College, and his high office therein, naturally moved him to consider it in the course of his large benefactions. We owe him our new historic Printing Press, which was erected from his donation in 1733 and the types furnished in 1735. From this Press, and with these types (which are still extant) were long issued the very graceful classics given to our students for prizes. In 1741 he gave us a large and valuable collection of MSS., chiefly relating to the antiquities of Ireland, and her ancient families, and to the great Rebellion of the previous century, and these are still preserved apart in our MS. room. In his will—he died in 1745—he left us the Stearne Exhibitions which still exist, amid a host of charities to the clergy of his diocese, to the clergy of Dublin, to the poor and the sick in this city, even to the hospital founded by Swift, who had used him very despitefully, and had written him a sour and scurrilous letter, to which the Bishop's gentle and Christian reply is a pleasant contrast.\*

\* Swift's complaint was that the Bishop advocated a bill for the sub-division of large benefices, and the compulsory residence of the clergy in their parishes.

I will only mention one more material monument which marks this good man in Dublin. He bequeathed funds for the erection of the spire of St. Patrick's—to this day one of the most signal landmarks in our city, and he left it with this solitary condition, that the Dean and Chapter must show within six years that they had seriously undertaken the work. He thought it possible therefore, even then, that a rich corporation might allow a large and generous gift to lie idle, from sloth, negligence, or ill-will. He also bequeathed to Archbishop Marsh's Library such of his books as were not already represented in that collection.

Surely we have here an example not only of splendid but of enlightened liberality. Of his many thousand pounds given or bequeathed a century and a half ago, not one seems to have failed in its purpose.

You will ask what we know of the management of his diocese. Of this there remains but little direct evidence. He had no quarrels, as his successor had, with his clergy. But one unruly, and perhaps disorderly, pamphleteer, Philip Skelton, has left us his complaints that the Bishop promised and then failed to promote him. The same reasons that prevented the Crown from promoting Swift to a Bishoprick may fairly be assumed to have prevented

Stearne, perhaps even after he had committed himself by some kindly words, from promoting this local Swift to a living. But we know from the same source that he was extremely strict at his ordinations, compelling the candidates to answer him in Latin for days at his palace, and liberal in gifts to this very man, to whom he gave not the preferment which he held in sacred trust, but the money which was his own. Such professional uprightness was not common and little appreciated in that profane and worldly generation, but cannot be passed over in our pious record of his blameless and stately career. His efforts at Church reform, which so enraged Dean Swift, I have already mentioned.

The period of his office in this College was a very momentous one in our history. The Chancellor, being a royal prince, who never set his foot upon Irish soil, and knew or cared little about us, left all his duties to be performed by his vicar in Ireland. Not only had Stearne to preside at Commencements, but as Visitor (with the Archbishop of Dublin) he was frequently required to decide grave disputes between the Provost and the Fellows, between the Fellows and the students, which amounted to riots, and resulted in loss of life. Even a Senior Fellow was expelled with his sanction for no other crime than the use of violent language against the Provost at a social

gathering in College rooms. On the other hand, Primate Boulter regards him as weak in giving ear to the complaints of the students. In the contemporary allusions to these disturbances and visitations, I notice that the Bishop of Clogher, and not his brother visitor, is always named, together with Provost Baldwin, as the really responsible person, and the fountain of authority.\* The striking fact remains, that at the time of his death, all these troubles had been allayed, and the College had entered upon its career, not only of prosperity, but of peace, not only of peace, but of splendour. Stearne found this College a collection of shabby buildings, the record of former poverty. He left it with the Library, the Dining Hall, and the Printing Office examples to future builders, and specimens of what he and his fellows claimed as a worthy House for the University of Dublin. His neighbour and friend, Samuel Madden, evidently after many consultations with the Bishop, founded the whole system of Honors and

\* The second official Visitor, the Archbishop of Dublin, was, during the first eight years of his Vice-Chancellorship, Archbishop King, not only an old family friend, but now an old man, whose policy seems to have coincided with that of Stearne. The succeeding Archbishop was John Hoadley, one of Primate Boulter's importations, a second-rate man and a stranger, who speaks of his duties in governing the University as an irksome burden. In this case also the Bishop's authority prevailed, if there was a difference of policy between the Visitors.

Prizes, of which his own bequest, the Madden Prize, was the most munificent and charitable. If, therefore, these twenty-five years out of our whole three centuries may fairly be called the turning point from adversity to prosperity, they are also the period when we were controlled by this modest and large-hearted man, whose influence and co-operation with other benefactors are recorded by the sober facts of history, not by the panegyrics of contemporary flatterers.

I cannot but feel deeply moved at the coincidence, that the task of recording the virtues of this loyal member of our University should devolve this year upon me—the first year, since the resumption of our Trinity feast, that I am present, not as a host, but as a guest in this great House. I need not remind my contemporaries in this Chapel that it is now forty years since we became members of this Corporation, and that *we* at least have had ample time to judge of the value of the education we have received, of the privileges we have enjoyed. No man could have ventured to predict forty years ago, that so many of us would be yet alive, so many of us here to-day. And we, while we look back, it may be with pride, it may be with disappointment, upon the share of success we have attained, cannot but feel that the main chapters of *our* history are finished, that we have little more to hope for in this brief and treacherous

life. Now, therefore, when our ambitions are either satisfied or stilled, when the main part of our work is over, and the autumn of our days with its calm and chill is upon us ; now is the time when we may fairly review our career, and ask ourselves what we have done for the College that shaped the course of our life. Probably those who feel they have done least and reproach themselves for it, are those who have done most ; those that have received freely and given nothing that they could help giving, are filled with complacency. But surely in all of us there cannot but arise the conviction, that whatever we have done, we might have done a great deal more. When we rehearse the benefactions of former generations, we cannot but feel as if the springs of liberality, the emotions of loyalty, were failing. Even the very heart to accept with gratitude great gifts offered to this College,\* seems to have died out, and it is not the one talent, but the ten, that are lying laid up in a napkin. And we too, when the frost of winter creeps upon us, may have no more public spirit left in us. Now, therefore, while there is yet time, let us see that we fall not short of our great traditions. This College is now surrounded by rivals, threatened with external legislation, accused of obsolete methods ; and

\* *I.e.* the £7500 subscribed for a Graduates Memorial Building in 1892-4, and which is now only (1898) in process of building.

we are still, I trust, striving to stem the tide of innovations in education, whose advocates threaten to reduce all institutions, ancient and modern, to the dead level of their own self-satisfied mediocrity. In these evil days no reflections can be more appropriate than those upon our ancient worthies, who, far from regarding education a mere competition for prizes, connected diligence with patience, knowledge with humility, learning with religion.

And if the broad words of our Charter, which founded this College "for the promotion of religion and learning," were too narrowly interpreted by our ancestors, I trust the day will never come when we shall forget or ignore the great truth that no alliance is more intimate than that of sound learning with sound religion. That learning may pass from the bishops, who possessed it in the days of Stearne, into the hands of laymen in ours. Dogmas may be shaken, opinion may drift, the form of creeds may change, but the day is past for ever when a religion, not consistent with sound learning, can take its place as the guide of educated men. It would doubtless have afflicted the good Bishop greatly to hear that in future days this College would loosen its close connexion with the creed which he loved and preached. But if this great change was not inconsistent with the Founder's words, and was demanded

by justice as well as expediency, it by no means implies that religion will not be honoured for ever in this place, and its spirit promoted among our students, whether they worship in this Chapel or not. 'The day cometh,' said our Lord, 'when neither in this place nor in Jerusalem shall we worship the Father, but the true worshippers shall worship Him in spirit and in truth.' So far, at all events, let Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Bedell, Bishop Berkeley, Bishop Stearne be our examples, and we shall never be confounded.



# ARCHBISHOP KING

PREACHED ON TRINITY MONDAY, 1899, BY REV. HUGH JACKSON  
LAWLOR, D.D., PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

## V

### ARCHBISHOP KING\*

*Everyone with one of his hands wrought in the work,  
and with the other hand held a weapon.*

NEHEMIAH iv. 17.

IN the long roll of our distinguished graduates there is none who better deserves to be commemorated on such a day as this than William King. He was one of the very few of those trained in this College in its earlier years who were promoted to the See of Dublin ; he was without question the most illustrious of the Dublin Archbishops since the Reformation ; his name will always be remembered as a generous benefactor of the University. And yet the task

\* For the earlier life of King the main authority is his Autobiography, printed in the *English Historical Review*, vol. xiii. p. 309. The fullest account of his career yet published is, I believe, that given by the late Professor Stokes in *Some Worthies of the Irish Church*, Lectures vii.-xvi. In editing this work I have been careful to give authority for every statement, and I have therefore not thought it necessary, as a rule, to give detailed references here.

which has been committed to me to-day is not an easy one. For King, with all his rare qualities, was no intellectual giant like Ussher, no philosopher saint like Berkeley; his writings considered as literature cannot compare with those of Swift. He had many failings, and his failings are more readily perceived than his merits: for it is his misfortune that the memorials of a considerable part of his life which are most easily accessible have come from the pen of his enemies. The measure of his greatness is not so much the devotion with which he was loved, as the bitterness with which he was hated. He does not at once enlist our sympathy, he does not claim our instinctive regard: if we come to admire, even to reverence him, it is as the result of a process of reasoning which balances good against evil, which makes allowance for the age in which he lived and for the circumstances in which his lot was cast.

William King, as I have said, was not an intellectual giant, but he had genius of his own, and it showed itself at a very early period of his life, though in a way which we need not be surprised to find misunderstood by those who had the charge of his education. In fact the story of his childhood and youth, as told in his Autobiography, supplies materials for a most interesting psychological study, and, if I may venture to say so to a congregation which

includes so many experts, is fraught with valuable lessons for those who have devoted their lives to the work of teaching. Born in the year 1650, he was placed at five years of age under the care of a governess who at once attempted the apparently hopeless task of teaching him to read. His obstinacy as he is careful to call it, his stupidity as his elders must have deemed it, was rewarded in the usual way, with corporal punishment, but without avail. It seemed incurable. After three years of instruction he had advanced no further than to be able to repeat the alphabet by rote, and—with the assistance of an arithmetical process, the nature of which is not very clear—to read sentences, word by word, without understanding their meaning. But the crisis then came. Hitherto the Westminster Catechism had furnished his only mental nourishment: but one Sunday afternoon he chanced upon a more interesting volume. A lady allowed him to accompany her to the garden where she purposed to perform her devotions. Presently the lady fell asleep, and her little companion rescued her falling Bible. At once he began to read it, ‘numbering the letters’ according to his wont. He made what was to him a new discovery, that some meaning could be elicited from a printed page by the laborious process. His interest was excited, and while his companion slept

he succeeded in reading the first three chapters of Genesis with much delight. With no loss of time he procured a Bible of his own, and his advance in learning from that day forward was rapid and assured. The strong character and individuality of the future Archbishop was thus early made manifest. Mere erudition for its own sake had no charms for him : its living connexion with human affairs and interests must be proved if it was to find in him a votary. It was the same in his later school days. He tells us, with some glee, how little progress he made under the formal instruction of his masters ; how he played truant from school that he might read at home the biographies of Clark, and every book of history or fiction he could find in his father's shelves ; how he taught himself arithmetic up to the extraction of the square root, but dared not reveal the fact, lest he should be punished for his secret studies ; how his Scotch schoolmaster at Dungannon insisted on his learning by heart the Latin Grammar of Despauterius, then so popular among his countrymen\*—a

\* ‘Malo fato magister Scotus et *suorum mirator* . . . dedit mihi in manus Despauterii grammaticam Latinam scilicet,’ &c.—from which words one might infer that the writer of the Latin Grammar was a Scotsman. Van Pauteren, however, was a Dutchman, who flourished about A.D. 1500. That his Latin Grammar was a standard work in Scotland in King's day is proved by the fact that an edition of it was published at Edinburgh in 1677 (8vo) and another in 1684-6 (12mo).

most unprofitable exercise as the lad conceived—while all the time he was acquiring a knowledge of the Latin Classics in his own way, by reading Corderius and a metrical Latin version of the Psalms, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and Persius in his leisure hours.

Such was the method of his study until at the age of seventeen he entered Trinity College. Here he was soon elected to a scholarship, and took his place among the ‘natives,’ and not long afterwards he attended the lectures of Henry Dodwell, who gave him his earliest lessons in the ‘Provost’s Logic.’ Those who have looked into the famous work of Narcissus Marsh will not be astonished to learn that even Dodwell did not succeed in making it attractive to the practical and unpedantic mind of King. The two Provosts of this College who have attempted to instruct our students in the art of reasoning have probably not succeeded in convincing the average undergraduate that a treatise on Logic helps him materially in his search for truth: perhaps some have even been content to reason incorrectly rather than master the technicalities of Marsh or of Murray. King speaks for very many when he says of his lecturer, ‘I cannot say that I acquired a knowledge of Logic by his teaching’: but he adds, ‘I learned from him lessons of far greater importance, I came to know him well, and he numbered me

rather among his friends than his pupils.' King was perhaps not the first, he was certainly not the last, who profited less by the formal discourses of the lecturer, than by friendly intercourse outside the class-room. More than half a century afterwards he alluded in one of his letters to his conferences with Dodwell, and we learn that one of the topics of their conversation was Irish history. We see the fruits of this friendly converse between teacher and pupil in the invaluable manuscript collections of King on this subject preserved in the National Library.

King's first tutor in Trinity College was Charles Cormack, a place-hunter, who thought more of securing his prebendal stalls in St. Patrick's and Christ Church than of doing his duty to the College. It was to the advantage of his pupils that in the early part of 1669 Cormack's Fellowship was declared vacant. King was transferred to another tutor, John Christian, to whom he owed much, and to whom he expresses the deepest gratitude in his Autobiography. It was, in fact, from Christian that King gained his first knowledge of religion, or at least his first conception of its supreme importance. At the time of his matriculation he was, by his own confession, unacquainted with the very elements of Christianity. It is strange that this should have been true of one born in a Christian family, his father a strict



Presbyterian, who had, nevertheless, suffered for his conscientious protest against the Solemn League and Covenant. Yet, so it was ; and the reason which King gives for his ignorance in such matters throws light on the depth to which, under the baneful influence of controversy, practical religion had fallen, so far, at least, as it was represented by Irish Protestantism, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is not the only picture which we shall be obliged to glance at of the degeneracy of the times, but I must give it as it is recorded. ‘Until my tenth year,’ he declares, ‘I never heard anything that I understood about religion.’ It is a striking comment on the labour that was spent in teaching him the Westminster Catechism. In his school days he learnt ‘nothing about the public or private worship of God, nothing about catechism or sacraments, about the creed or ten commandments or Lord’s Prayer.’ He never remembered one of his school-fellows to have prayed in private. How could they? ‘When all forms of prayer were done away with,’ he says, ‘it was scarcely possible that rude and ignorant lads should make prayers for themselves.’ He solemnly protests that the duty of secret prayer was absolutely unknown to him ; that he had never known anyone that performed it, until he entered College. Happily in those days there was at least one man who

remembered that the College of Queen Elizabeth was a religious foundation ; and that man was John Christian. Convictions gained under the influence of his 'pious and faithful tutor' opened up a new world to King. He saw that religion must be to him all or nothing. The inquiry of paramount importance for every student was the inquiry as to the truth of the doctrines which underlie religion ; and, knowing full well its difficulty, he determined to make it. It is characteristic of the man, that in the account which he gives us of his mental conflict at this period, and of the investigations which, as a result of it, he undertook, no mention is made of the lectures of the Divinity Professor, though he no doubt attended them, and though Richard Lingard, who then held the chair, was a notable man in his day. Christian was his 'counsellor, almost his confessor' ; but he mapped out his course of study for himself ; his ultimate convictions were the result of his own independent reading and thought. His researches included, as separate departments, Natural Religion, Revealed Religion, Christianity, and the various denominations of Christians from the Socinians to the Roman Catholics. It is amazing that so wide a field could have been explored however perfunctorily in a period of less than two years, in addition to the amount of reading required by the

College to qualify for his degree. But within two years from the day on which he first met Christian he was a graduate of the University, and a convinced Christian and Churchman.

These two years of struggle and thought had an influence on his whole after-life. I have no doubt they gave him in large measure the material for his two ablest works, written thirty or forty years later, the treatise *De Origine Mali*, and the famous sermon on *Predestination*. Neither of them perhaps has many readers now ; but the former was a book much thought of at an earlier period. It attracted the notice of no less a philosopher than Leibnitz, and continued to be used as a text-book in this University for a century and a half after its first appearance ; while the latter found an appreciative editor in the late Archbishop Whately fifty years ago. To the same origin may be traced also his controversial writings against Peter Manby, the Roman Catholic Dean of Derry in the time of James II., and his *Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, a popular tract against the Dissenters of the same place. The value of polemical works is differently judged by those who take different sides in the controversies with which they deal. But recent defenders of Anglican Orders have not much to add to King's arguments against Manby, and an

eminent Presbyterian writer has said of the *Inventions* that it is a 'clever and plausible performance . . . and free from unseemly bitterness, and harsh or irritating epithets'\*—no small concession, even though qualified by other statements, from one who, at the least, was not sympathetic towards opponents.

Perhaps we shall not be far wrong if we also refer to this period of earnest inquiry, the impulse which led King long afterwards to make his well-known benefaction to the University. A man who had marked out for himself so extended a course of reading in theology was likely to take a high view of the training which was necessary for those who were to enter the ministry of the Church. That it was impossible for a single Professor, holding often ecclesiastical preferment in addition to his chair, to provide that training would be manifest to him, if to no one else. And thus, with a liberality for which he was always distinguished, he founded and endowed the lectureship for graduates intending to take Holy Orders, which still bears his name. It were to be wished that all the benefactions which have been bestowed on our Divinity School had been as much for its benefit as this.

What further result might have followed from his intellectual training in this place, if he had lived in

\* Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, ii. 429.

less troublous times, or had been able to pass his life in retirement, we cannot tell. But King was destined to be a man of affairs rather than a man of learning. The few remaining years in which it was possible for him to devote himself to self-culture were spent in studies of a different kind from those in which he had been engaged here ; and it was this later reading which laid the foundation of that part of his life-work which stands out most prominently on the page of history. After an unsuccessful candidature for Fellowship, which did him no discredit, he attracted the notice of Archbishop Parker of Tuam. He was preferred by him, immediately after his ordination to the diaconate, to a prebend, and subsequently to the Provostship, in Tuam Cathedral. In the retirement of his rural home he entered upon the study of Patristic literature and Canon Law. Steady application to such matters, as he soon found, is not easy amid the distractions of country life and a dissipated society. The temptations set in his way by the intemperate habits of his friends, clerical and lay, did, in fact, seriously interfere with his literary pursuits ; but he was continually recalled to them by his kind and wise patron Archbishop Parker. He may, indeed, have exaggerated the excesses of which he was guilty while in the Diocese of Tuam. It is at least certain that his five years

there were not altogether wasted. He acquired a knowledge of law which never failed him in the many and important contests in which, for nearly fifty years of his life, he was engaged. But that his description of clerical life in Connaught was not wholly imaginary may be safely inferred from the fact, that from the year following his admission to the priesthood till the end of his days, he was a constant sufferer from gout. But however that may be, his Tuam life was before long brought to a close.

Fortunately for him Parker was translated to Dublin, and he took an early opportunity of giving his protégé preferment in his new diocese. When only twenty-nine years of age, King found himself Chancellor of St. Patrick's, and in right of his stall incumbent of St. Werburgh's, Dublin, and St. Canice's, Finglas.

He had not been many months on the Chapter of St. Patrick's when he became involved in his first law suit. This was the only action at law in which, so far as I know, he was ultimately defeated. It was the only one in which a fair-minded man is likely to maintain that he was not justified. It is worth mentioning only because it proves him to have had a knowledge of the early history and constitution of St. Patrick's, which I think few men of his age at the present day possess. If his arguments against

the authority of the Dean, which he disputed, had been as sound as his learning in ecclesiastical antiquities was considerable, the course which he followed might have been approved. As it is we can excuse it only on the ground that it is natural for a young man, knowing his strength, to take the first opportunity of proving it.

In spite of the aggressive attitude which he assumed in the first days of his connexion with St. Patrick's Cathedral the worth of the young Chancellor was soon recognised. Ere long he gained both the confidence and the respect of Dean and Chapter. Dean Worth himself, his former antagonist, when ill-health obliged him to relinquish the rule of his Cathedral, appointed William King his Sub-Dean. In the early months of the eventful year 1689, the Chapter, by a unanimous vote, appointed him Dean Worth's successor. Almost immediately afterwards when Archbishop Francis Marsh fled before the rising storm he left him his commissary for the Diocese of Dublin: and though somewhat later the spiritualities were nominally committed to the care of Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, the rule of the Church in Dublin remained in the hands of the Dean of St. Patrick's till the end of the year in which the Williamite Revolution was accomplished by the victory of the Boyne.

It would scarcely be necessary to dwell longer on the time during which King served as one of the clergy of St. Patrick's, were it not the fact that this period of his life has been made the occasion of the most serious charge that has ever been brought against his character—the most cruel slander, as I should prefer to call it, of which he has ever been the victim. It has been said that as long as James sat secure upon the throne, King was a loyalist of the most pronounced type, a preacher of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance ; but that when the success of the Revolution became assured he flung his old theories to the winds and espoused the part of William. It is of course implied that his conversion was the result, not of honest conviction, but of a disgraceful temporizing policy. The accusation was first brought by a famous graduate of this University, Charles Leslie the non-juror.\* Leslie is evidently most anxious not only to prove King's conversion, but to bring it down to as late a date as possible. Even when Cairnes and the Apprentices of Derry had closed the gates of the city against the forces of the Earl of Antrim, he asks us to believe that King, like Bishop Hopkins, was on James's side. Astute as Leslie was, he does not seem to have realised that here he is proving too much. We might

\* In his Answer to King's *State of the Protestants*, p. 113.



assent to the proposition that the future Archbishop was perfidious: but we can scarcely be expected to avow our belief that he was a fool. Politicians much less sagacious than he must have perceived long before the siege of Derry commenced that the cause of the Stuart King was lost. If an ecclesiastic was ready to barter truth for promotion it was obviously his interest to ally himself to the winning party at the earliest possible moment after it became clear to him which side would gain the day. That King, a statesman whose ability no one denies, should deliberately postpone announcing a change of opinion as to the meaning of loyalty so long that no Williamite could possibly regard him as sincere in his new profession of faith is a supposition almost wildly improbable. But, indeed, Leslie does not find it easy to bring evidence in favour of his thesis. He adduces six proofs of his adversary's guilt. Four of them are quite rightly described in King's words as 'figments of his own brains . . . being nothing else but the chatt of the Jacobites' coffee-houses, without truth or vouchers':\* they are utterly unworthy of the attention of a serious historian. In only two cases does Leslie appeal to written documents signed by King himself. In one of these the document is in our hands, and an

\* Monck Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 211.

inspection of it will convince most of us that the inference of Leslie from its text is utterly unwarranted. The other document is not so far as I know preserved. But it can be shown, as I believe, that Leslie quoted it at second-hand : and King denies the accuracy of his account of it in the most vital part.\*

That King was an ardent Williamite in the summer of 1689 is sufficiently proved by the fact that he was in the July of that year imprisoned in Dublin Castle, and that when his liberation was effected he could not walk in the streets of the city without considerable risk to his life, on account of the violence of the supporters of King James. That in earlier years he had preached the doctrine of Passive Obedience, I have very little doubt. But the fact is, that ' Passive Obedience ' is a phrase somewhat elastic in its meaning. To the vast majority of the clergy of England in the time of James II. it connoted, not obedience to the king under all circumstances, but only obedience to him so long as he did not command what was *ultra vires*. Sancroft and the non-juring bishops will scarcely be held to have mis-conceived what came afterwards to be known among their followers as the ' Doctrine of the Cross.'

\* For a more detailed examination of Leslie's arguments, see Stokes' *Worthies*, Additional Note to Lecture vii.

Yet to a man they disobeyed the order of King James when he required that his famous Declaration for Liberty of Conscience should be published in the Churches of England. Neither threats nor persuasion could induce them to yield: and the whole nation, clergy and laity alike, supported them in their resistance to his authority. The overwhelming majority of those who maintained the doctrine of Passive Obedience clearly held that under certain circumstances resistance was not only permissible—it was a duty. That King agreed with them there is no room for doubt. The Chapter of St. Patrick's more than once resisted the encroachments of the royal authority upon their privileges, and King was on these occasions their leader.\* It was natural that it should be so, for he had already shown that he knew more than his colleagues of the history and rights of their Cathedral. The first case of this kind occurred in 1687 when one of the vicars, with unquestionable loyalty, adopted the king's religion. His new principles obliged him to demand release from his duties in the Cathedral: a mandamus from King James nevertheless enjoined that his salary should be paid. It was met with a firm refusal on the part of the Chapter. Not long after the Deanery became vacant. It was again by the energy of

\* Monck Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 203 *sqq.*

King that the right of the Chapter to elect a Dean was preserved to it, in defiance of the wishes of Tyrconnell.

Now, if it is once admitted that the Doctrine of Passive Obedience does not entail submission to the sovereign under all circumstances, there is room for infinite difference of opinion as to the particular circumstances which justify resistance, and as to the exact form which that resistance may lawfully take. On the latter point King confesses that he had difficulties to the last, and he congratulates himself that he had never urged anyone to take up arms against King James. But on the former he had more definite opinions, and they were by no means those of the party which Leslie represented. Even while Charles II. was still on the throne, if the statement of his Autobiography is to be accepted, he had warned some royalists whom he met at Tunbridge Wells that the arbitrary use which that king made of what he considered to be the Royal Prerogative could not be acquiesced in without danger to the Kingdom. And apart from the Autobiography we have at present no reliable evidence as to his opinions before the Revolution, except the Chapter minutes of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Till some further evidence is in our hands, King's inconsistency cannot be proved. Leslie certainly does not prove it; and

the weakness of his arguments is some assurance that it never will be proved.

But we need not be greatly concerned, after all, if the proof comes. The man is not to be envied who has attained to such an intellectual dead level that his views at a given time on any subject do not contradict the views which at any former time he may have expressed on the same subject. Change of opinion does not always imply dishonesty. And if King had once, as Leslie phrases it, taught 'Passive Obedience to the highth,' it is little to be wondered at that the *reductio ad absurdum* of this doctrine afforded by the infatuated policy of James II. should convince him of his error. The charge of temporizing is one which can only be established by the clearest demonstration in the case of one who was always notoriously outspoken, who had always the courage of his convictions, who was always ready, sometimes indiscreetly, to say what he thought, in public or in private.

But at length the Revolution was an accomplished fact. It was only natural that the Dean of St. Patrick's should at once be promoted to the episcopate. He had been the leader of the Williamite party in Dublin, he had suffered for his convictions by long and weary imprisonment, he had been ruler of the diocese of Dublin for two years, and in that

capacity he had used admirable forbearance and tact in reconciling the Roman Catholic priests and laity to the Protestant successor of James. His devotion to the cause was rewarded.

On St. Paul's Day, 1691, he was consecrated Bishop of the rich and important Diocese of Derry. I need not remind you that twelve years later he was translated to Dublin, and that for twenty-six years as Archbishop he was visitor of this College, till his death in 1729.

It is impossible to follow step by step the many-sided life of King as Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Dublin. All that can be done is to indicate a few aspects of the work in which he engaged, and to point out briefly the main traits of his character which his episcopal career brought to light.

The ideal Bishop is a man of peace. But a man of peace King most certainly was not. A great part of his life was spent, as I have already remarked, in the law courts. But for this let us not pass on him a too hasty censure. A Bishop must aim at peace ; but there are times when for a ruler of the Church war is a duty, when, whatever his ideal may be, he cannot but strive and cry and make his voice to be heard. If the enemies of the Church threaten her very existence and her power for good, the Bishop

who is faithful to his trust must do them battle in the name of God.

Those who are familiar with the Life of Bedell will remember the contrast which Burnet draws between him and his famous contemporary, Primate Ussher. The comparison is certainly in favour of the Bishop of Kilmore. The man of war who defied Chancellors and Judges, comes far nearer to our ideal of what a Bishop should be, than he who, for the sake of peace, buried himself in his books and suffered iniquity to be added to iniquity till the land stank, and was corrupt. 'O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission,' were the dying words of Ussher: and not the least of his omissions was his neglect to purify his courts and to suppress abuses, in the only way in which they could be suppressed, by an appeal to the law.

The enemies of the Church were not less active in the time of King than in that of Ussher and Bedell. I need do no more than mention a quarrel with the Irish Society, over the details of which some obscurity still hangs. The Society, it appears, attempted to take possession of certain Church lands, with which, by the express words of their Charter, they were debarred from meddling. The contest did not end till after King had ceased to be Bishop, but it was his vigour and legal skill which

brought it to an issue. It resulted in a compromise, but a compromise which was in large measure a victory for the Bishop.\*

But the real foes of the Irish Church were not those outside her borders : they were her own clergy. It is not pleasant, and it is not easy, for a Churchman at the present day to realise the fearful corruption which pervaded the whole ecclesiastical system of this country two hundred years ago. If proof is needed that a Protestant Communion may sink to the same level of degradation which is usually associated with Western Christendom in the Middle Ages, that proof is at hand in the history of the Church of Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I am content to give but one illustration. About the year 1691 the attention of the government was called to the intolerable condition of the extensive united Diocese of Down and Connor. The Bishop of Derry and his brother of Meath, Anthony Dopping, were members of a commission appointed in 1693 to investigate the changes brought against its Bishop and Clergy. As a result of that Commission the Bishop—an absentee Englishman, who preferred his native air and the emoluments of his office to the work which his consecration obliged him to perform—was deprived

\* See below p. 138 ff.



for neglect of pastoral duty, with the added crime of simony, one of his Archdeacons for the same offences, another Archdeacon for simony, and a Dean for adultery. The sentence of deposition was not too severe in at least one of these cases. Archdeacon Mathews, the chief delinquent, had made himself rector of more than half the parishes in Down, besides several in Connor, upon all of which he bestowed an equal measure of inattention : he had as Vicar-General, been guilty of gross misconduct in the administration of the Church courts ; and finally, he had bought the Archdeaconry of Connor for his nephew. These were not the only clergy of the Diocese visited with ecclesiastical censures and punishments,\* and it is to the credit of King and his

\* In addition to the authorities relied upon by Professor Stokes in his *Worthies* for the proceedings of this Commission, the British Museum Lansdowne MS. 446, ff. 124-128, contains fragments of three documents which give valuable information. From them we gather that the following were convicted of crimes charged against them :—1. Bishop Thomas Hackett, who had lived for twelve or thirteen years at Hammersmith without visiting his Diocese, of neglect of pastoral duty, ‘selling of ecclesiastical Liveings, and many other crimes’; 2. Lemuel Mathews, Archdeacon of Down, of ‘enormous neglect of his cures, continued non-residence and other things,’ including the purchase of the Archdeaconry of Connor for his nephew; 3. Thomas Ward, Dean of Connor, of ‘adultery and incontinency of life, amongst other things’; 4. William Miln, Prebendary of Kilroot in Connor Cathedral, of ‘intemperance, incontinency and neglect of his cures’; 5. Thomas Jones of ‘neglect of his

colleague that they had the courage to undertake, and the zeal to discharge so unpleasant a duty.

With such facts as these in view we shall find little difficulty in understanding that a conscientious Bishop might be obliged very frequently to appear as a litigant in the courts. King was a determined enemy of ecclesiastical abuse in whatever form it might chance to appear. Not long after he was called upon to take charge of the Diocese of Dublin he discovered that in it there was a stronghold of corruption nearly as disgraceful as that of the existence of which in other parts of the Church he had already had such convincing proof. It would be easy to draw amusing pictures of the memorable contest between the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral. It would be easy to make King seem ridiculous by telling of his demand that, contrary to the custom of his pre-

cures'; 6. Mr. Armar, Precentor of Connor, of contumacy in failing to appear to answer a charge of neglect of duty. In addition to these, Philip Mathews, Archdeacon of Connor, and Andrew Charleton, Chancellor of Connor, were remanded to the Ordinary, for further investigation into the accusation of simony made against them. The latter was convicted of grave irregularities with regard to the performance of marriages, but this matter was also remanded to the Ordinary, on the remarkable ground that such laxity 'was generally the case of most of the clergy of these diocesses'—the Commissioners being apparently unwilling to leave the entire flock of Bishop Hackett without the ministrations of religion.

decessors, he should be enthroned there, rather than in St. Patrick's, by describing how the enthronement was performed in an empty church by the Archbishop's own registrar, by giving the record of visitations which no one attended, and of sentences of excommunication and deposition pronounced against the contumacious Dean. But the fact is that for all these proceedings, absurd as they may seem, Archbishop King needs no apology. The irregularities of the authorities of Christ Church were a by-word. The crypt of the Cathedral was let, as it had been three-quarters of a century before, in the days of Wentworth and Laud, to tapsters and dealers in tobacco, the Chapter-house was devoted to the sale of toys, and other rooms within the precincts were used as robing-rooms for the judges, while the members of Chapter applied the rent to the augmentation of their salaries. Nor were they content with this desecration of the fabric. No less than twenty-seven benefices were inappropriate to the Cathedral, and in many of these no provision whatever was made for the cure of souls. All these abuses were carried on in open defiance of Archbishopal authority. Under the pretence that the Cathedral was a Chapel Royal the Chapter contended that they were exempt from the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction. King was the first Archbishop

of Dublin who dared to contest their claim. He was the first who had no objection to appear ridiculous, if thereby he might serve the cause of religion and of righteousness. He asserted his right of visitation and jurisdiction. Harassed by a series of vexatious and costly law suits, he was nothing daunted. The matters in dispute were brought into almost every court in Ireland and England ; the case was not finally decided for more than twenty years after its inception. It ended at length in the English House of Lords with a complete vindication of the Archbishop's action. He obtained for himself and for his successors the power to insist that the spiritual needs of the flock committed to their charge should be supplied, and that the Churches of the Diocese should be used, not for the enrichment of greedy ecclesiastics, but for the glory of God. I am not at all concerned to maintain that King was not by nature litigious, or that actions at law afforded him no pleasure ; I am not concerned to prove that in his demeanour towards the Christ Church clergy he was not haughty and over-bearing. No doubt the Duke of Grafton had taken his measure correctly, from the point of view of a statesman, when he said that he was ' very indiscreet in his actions and expressions,' and ' pretty ungovernable,' that ' upon some points . . . he lost both his temper and his

reason':\* but this I do say, that in the main his action in the matter of the Christ Church Chapter was a noble battle for righteousness, and that if he had declined to take such proceedings as he did, he would have been guilty of grave dereliction of duty.

But the evils from which the Irish Church of those days suffered were not all of a kind which could be fought against with legal weapons. There was another with which, as members of this University, we have more immediate concern. The principles on which patronage of all kinds was distributed in Ireland under the early Georges is so well known that it is scarcely necessary to refer to it. Every post of importance, ecclesiastical or civil, was bestowed on an Englishman—by which was meant, not merely a man of English extraction, but one who had been born and educated in England. Bishops for Irish Sees were chosen, not because of qualities which might fit them for spiritual work, not because they had sympathy for the people to whom they were to minister, but because, having passed all their life in England, they knew nothing of Ireland, and would therefore probably be loyal supporters of the English interest.

The very incarnation of this pernicious policy

\* Coxe's *Walpole*, ii. 357, quoted by Lecky, *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. 1892, i. 433.

arrived in Ireland in the year 1724 in the person of Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh. He was a man of many excellent qualities, and the Irish Church received from him a valuable endowment. But his views on the subject of patronage would now find little favour. In letter after letter he urges upon the government that every office in Church or in State should be filled when it became vacant by an Englishman. Not long after his appointment to the Primacy he indignantly complained, in a letter to the Secretary of State, 'that the mastership of the Rolls, which, as it is for life, is one of the greatest places in the law here, is permitted to be sold to a native of this place.'\* What seemed to the Primate unfortunate was not that one of the highest judicial positions in the country was *sold*, but that it was sold *to a native*.

The leader of the 'Dublin faction,' as Boulter contemptuously calls them, who strenuously opposed the distribution of Irish preferments of trust and profit among men of English training and sympathies, was Archbishop King. And one of his arguments against it was the slight which it put upon the University of Dublin. 'Whereas there is a University in Ireland, founded by Queen Elizabeth, where youth are instructed with a much

\* *Boulter's Letters*, Dublin, 1770, i. 17, quoted by Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, ii. 422.

stricter discipline than either in Oxford or Cambridge, it lies under the greatest discouragements, by filling all the principal employments, civil and ecclesiastical, with persons from England, who have neither interest, property, acquaintance, nor alliance in that kingdom, contrary to the practice of all other states in Europe, which are governed by viceroys, at least what hath never been used without the utmost discontents of the people.' 'The young men, sent into the Church from the University here, have no better prospect than to be curates, or small country vicars, for life.'\* The words are from the pen of a more famous man than King, Dean Swift; but they echo the sentiments of the Archbishop, expressed in many letters of protest preserved in his correspondence.

If King protested strongly against this miserable system, he protested no less against another abuse in the matter of patronage. 'Tis become a custom with us,' he writes, 'that whoever pretends to any preferment, he immediately posts away to London. We have crowds there, and I find more are going, and some have waited two years, hunting for a promotion. . . . Your Grace is well apprized' (he was addressing himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury) 'what a discouragement it is to men that reside and

\* Mant, *History*, ii. 446 sq., 428.



attend their cures, and by that support religion, to see others preferred before them, merely for attending at court and neglecting their churches.’\*

The struggle was a gallant one, if unavailing. We to whom the cause of the Irish University and the cause of the Irish Church are sacred, will always remember with gratitude the Archbishop who, by voice, and, let me add, by example, strove against a tyrannous and a suicidal policy.

But enough of the efforts of King to combat the evils with threatened the well-being of the Church. He proved himself a fearless champion of her cause. But if the times demanded that much of his energy should be devoted to giving battle to the enemies of the City of God, let it not be imagined that he was careless of the no less necessary work of building its walls and repairing its waste places. He had the reputation among his contemporaries of being ‘an excellent bishop.’† The judgment is echoed by a Presbyterian historian of our own day,‡ and it is well deserved. The routine pastoral work of ordaining, confirming, visiting, preaching does not find its way into the records of history : but that, amid all the distractions of heated controversy and state-craft, King set high store by it, and did it

\* Mant, *History*, ii., p. 274.

† Coxe’s *Walpole*, ii. 357.

‡ Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, ii. 425.



with his might, we have sufficient proof. When he was appointed to the honourable office of Lord Justice of Ireland—a post for which his legal knowledge and ability well fitted him—he wrote to a friend: ‘I must own I am not fond of my new employment. . . . I am afraid it may obstruct my proper business as a Bishop, which I could never answer.’\* The sentiment may seem obvious enough, but it was at least unusual among the Irish Archbishops of the early eighteenth century.

How diligent King was in the discharge of his ‘proper business as a Bishop’ we know from his letters. Of his occupations during one summer of his Derry episcopate he writes to a friend: ‘I came home Friday last from a parochial visitation through part of this diocese. I visited twenty-one churches, and confirmed in nine; it held me employed twenty-three days. I carried the consistory with me, and prescribed penance to near an hundred people, for one thing or another, and ended several causes. I have yet another circuit containing about thirteen churches, and had one before. . . . I had great crowds of dissenters everywhere, and entertained them with a discourse.’ And again, in another letter a few days later: ‘I intend to be at Omagh August the 5th, and from thence I go to Ardmagh, to visit for

\* Mant, ii. 281.

my Lord Primate.\* The zealous prelates of our own day, when travelling is easy and inexpensive, could scarcely produce a better record. In the selection of candidates for ordination he was most conscientious and careful,† and not less so in regulating promotion in his diocese.‡ He insisted on satisfying himself by strict examination as to the intellectual qualifications of his clergy, and it is due to his wise forethought that at least in one parish of this diocese it is still an indispensable condition that the incumbent should be a Master of Arts of the University of Dublin.§

The Church of Ireland in the seventeenth century was much hindered in her work by the want of ecclesiastical buildings. Many of the older churches lay in ruins, and in some places the increase of population called for the building of new churches. King put his hand to the work, and did much to provide a remedy. In Derry he caused seven churches to be re-built, in some of which there had been no service since the Reformation, and repairs to be made in the fabrics throughout the whole diocese. In Dublin he was equally active. Many of the churches still used for Divine worship were built through his exertions. To name but

\* Mant, ii., p. 105.

† *Ib.* p. 203.

‡ *Ib.* pp. 154, 209 sq.

§ Stokes, *Worthies*, pp. 260, 270.

two: the churches of St. Mark and St. Ann, on either side of this College, are due to the indefatigable zeal of the great Archbishop. And it is characteristic that, in almost every case, with the new church a residence for the clergy was provided. The vicarage of St. Ann was included with the church in the original scheme which led to the formation of the parish. Indeed much of King's activity was occupied in securing that his clergy should be resident, and in making residence in their cures a possibility. It was mainly owing to his efforts, seconded by those of Dean Swift, that the first fruits were restored to the Irish Church: and the chief purpose for which they were used was the purchase of glebes. 'We want glebes more than the impropriations,' wrote Swift, 'and I am for buying them first, where wanting, for without them residence is impossible.'\*

There is one more characteristic of King, closely connected with his episcopal work, and especially with that part of it of which I have just spoken, which must be mentioned—his extraordinary liberality. How a man who began life in deep poverty as a sizar of Trinity College accumulated the wealth which he certainly enjoyed in his later years is at present a problem which awaits solution. But it

\* *Works*, x. 203, quoted by Mant, *History*, ii. 243. Compare the letter of King quoted *ib.*, 294.

is certain that his riches were used with no grudging hand for charitable and religious purposes. His benefaction to our own University has been already referred to, his bequest to the poor of Dublin\* is not to be forgotten, but far more lavish than either were the endowments which he bestowed upon the Church. Till recent times his successors in the Archbishopric of Dublin derived a part of their income from property at Dolphin's Barn, the purchase of which was paid for out of his private purse. The incumbents of several rural parishes to this day enjoy larger incomes than they would otherwise have, owing to his generosity; several others would have had similar benefit had not Disestablishment swept their endowments away. In every case of parochial endowment the condition was made that the person who enjoyed it must be resident in his parish, and be actually engaged in the cure of souls. He provided not only for the incomes of ecclesiastics but for the spiritual welfare of the Church.

But it is time to bring this discourse to a close. It only remains, in a few sentences, to draw attention to some of the main features of the character of the man who has engaged our thoughts to-day. If from year to year we commemorate our worthies of bygone centuries, it must always be with

\* £150.

the aim, not only of expressing our thanks to God, but of enriching our own lives, of stirring ourselves up to emulate the noble deeds of the past. What is there in the life and character of William King which we can make our own? What is there that we can imitate and reproduce?

Let me place first, on this day, the affectionate loyalty with which he always regarded Trinity College. He showed it not only in the founding of the Chair which bears his name. The interests of his University were seldom absent from his mind. The most meagre knowledge of his letters is sufficient to assure us of this fact. There was scarcely a scheme for the advancement of its interests, or the increase of its efficiency, which did not receive his attention.\* His counsel and help were, on many occasions, sought by the authorities of the College, and they were not sought in vain. If all our students who go out from us into the world, retained the same

\* Thus in the series of letters extending from August 12th to December 31st, 1718, I find one to the Archbishop of Tuam which refers to a project (as it seems) of founding a lectureship, and of appealing to English friends for pecuniary help in the matter, and to conferences thereon with the Provost. On the 24th November he writes to Samuel Molyneux with regard to a proposed increase in the number of Fellows, which he advocates, and about which he asks advice. The year 1728-9, again, has several letters on the affairs of the College, dated 15th February, 23rd (?) March, 27th July, 1728, and 12th February, 1729. Compare Stubbs' *History of the University*, p. 140.

affection which King had for the place where their early years were spent ; if all acknowledged, as he did, the debt which they owe to the institution which provides them with the intellectual training necessary for their life-work, it would be well for the University, and it would be well for themselves.

If we can imitate him in this, we can imitate him too in what is one of the most noteworthy traits of his character—his passion for work. It is this very passion for work which has made it impossible to present a brief account of his career which could convey any adequate impression of what the man really was. If we would learn how great was his industry, we must go from one to another of our libraries. The man who reads through the seventeen ponderous volumes of his letters, preserved in our own collection, will himself deserve to be called industrious ; yet it is but a fragment of his enormous correspondence. Marsh's Library, with its collections of precedents made by him, its minutes of Privy Council meetings and of proceedings in the House of Lords, written in his own hand, reminds us that he was no less laborious as a statesman and a lawyer than as a divine. The National Library gives us proof that he had gathered valuable materials for Irish History ; while his published writings testify that amid the many distractions of an active public

life he found time for reading and thought on theological subjects. The amount of work which King accomplished is amazing: it is certainly not less so when we recall to mind that it was done in spite of an almost life-long malady and frequent pain and weakness.

But last of all let me remind you that however little it may appear upon the surface, this life of incessant toil was based on religious principle.\* The lessons that he learned from John Christian in this place were never forgotten. In a day when ecclesiastics were not less mindful of their interests than other men, King's devotion to duty was absolutely sincere and unselfish. He was bitterly hated and relentlessly persecuted by men whose iniquities gave them good cause to hate him and to fear him. But he was unmoved. He was as bold as ever to rebuke vice, and to bear witness for the truth. It was the custom of the day to tout for preferment: King would not tout. If he had done so he might have been Primate, but the entreaties of his friends were without avail. 'Having never asked anything,' he proudly wrote, 'I cannot now begin to do so.†' On his Consecration day he took St. Paul as his

\* A testimony to the personal piety of King in his admiration for the saintly layman James Bonnell. He wrote Bonnell's epitaph. See the *Churchman* for October, 1899, p. 26.

† Mant, ii. 414.

model, and to the end of his life St. Paul was still the example which he followed.\* But for the motives of his actions he looked beyond St. Paul. 'We are used,' he wrote, when the forces of irreligion seemed for a moment triumphant, 'we are used as our Master was, and I can find no other comfort besides that consideration. I thank God I am willing to be at any pains, and to venture anything, for Christ's sake.† We shall best follow what was good in King if we make this our maxim, if Jesus Christ be the guide and ruler of our life.

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NOTE.—*On the Litigation between the Bishop of Derry and the London Society for the Plantation of Ulster.*

THE principal sources known to me from which information may be gleaned with reference to this case are the following:—

1. *A concise view of the Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings of the Honourable Society of the Governors and Assistants of London of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland, commonly called the Irish Society: compiled principally from their Records.* London, 1822.

2. *The Case of William Lord Bishop of Derry, on an Appeal before the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal [of Ireland] in Parliament*

\* Mant, ii., p. 495.

† *Ib.* p. 95.



*assembled, against the Society of the Governour and Assistants, London, for the New Plantation in Ulster, the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of Londonderry, and others* [1697]. (National Library, Thorpe Tracts, vol. xii.)

3. Notes of the Proceedings in the English House of Lords, &c., in King's hand-writing, in Marsh's Library, MS. V3. I. 24, pp. 273-287.

There is also in the possession of the Irish Society a manuscript "work composed whilst the suit was depending, by Mr. Moggridge," containing "the whole history of the suit (up to August, 1695), and the Bishop's pretended title" to the lands in question. But when the present writer applied to the Court of the Society for leave to inspect this document, for the purpose of historical research, he was informed that no one could be allowed to peruse a private communication to the Society from their law agent.\*

The facts appear to be as follows:—Certain lands, known as the Fifteen Hundred Acres, the property of the See of Derry, were leased by Bishop Bramhall for a term of 60 years to the Corporation of Londonderry at a yearly rent of £50. This lease expired in July, 1694, and accordingly in 1692 the Corporation entered into negotiations with Bishop King for its renewal. The parties were unable to come to terms, and thereupon the Corporation discovered (or revealed the fact that they had already discovered) that the title of the See was bad, and that the lands really belonged to the Irish Society. The discovery was at once communicated to London, with the result that the Society agreed to make an annual

\* This reason is so conclusive that it was scarcely necessary to add another—that even if permission were granted, I should be unable to decipher the manuscript.

payment of £90 10s. for ever to the city, if the Bishop's claim was upset. A fraudulent agreement was entered into between Harvey, the Chamberlain of Londonderry, and the under-tenants, in virtue of which, a few days before the expiry of the lease, possession was delivered up to David Cairnes, the Society's agent, and fresh leases were granted by him, partly in favour of the city, and partly for the private advantage of Harvey, and the first annual payment of £90 10s. was made.

The Bishop, having duly demanded possession from the Corporation and their under-tenants, and having been refused, filed a bill in the Irish Court of Chancery. After many delays the case came to a hearing before the Lord Chancellor and the two Chief Justices, who had meanwhile\* been invited to dinner by the Society, in June, 1697. The Justices were in favour of the Bishop, and the Lord Chancellor admitted that the Society had no claim on the lands; but he gave judgment that before deciding that the Bishop's title was valid a trial by jury should be had, with a view to determining the question of fact—whether the Bishops had ever been in actual possession of the property or had received rents therefrom. This decision was manifestly unjust, since it was admitted in the pleadings that the rent had been regularly paid without question, and moreover the Court had already affirmed that neither the Irish Society, nor any other Corporation, had a claim superior to that of the Bishop. Accordingly King appealed to the Irish House of Lords. The result of the appeal was that the judgment of the Chancellor was reversed, and the Bishop re-established in possession of the Fifteen Hundred Acres.

The Irish Society, however, were not yet content to let the matter rest. They took a further step, which, at the time, was regarded as in the highest degree unconstitutional. They appealed from the Irish to the English House of Lords.

\* 4th Feb., 1696.

There can be no doubt that it was this appeal which gave occasion to William Molyneux to write his famous book, *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*, published in 1698, in which he appears as a vigorous champion of the rights of the Irish Legislature. The manuscript in Marsh's Library already mentioned\* gives good ground for believing that King had a considerable share in its composition, notwithstanding the avowal of the author that he is 'not at all solicitous whether the Bishop, or Society of Derry, recover the land they contest about.'

The English peers do not seem to have been willing to entertain the appeal; for early in January, 1697-8, the Marquis of Normanby, at the request of the Society, moved for a committee to inquire into precedents. Bishop King immediately made a collection of documents for the purpose of showing that the Irish House of Lords had always been regarded as having full power to determine all cases of appeal from the Irish Courts. His precedents were duly certified by the Lords Justices and the Privy Council, and forwarded to the English Chancellor. The result appears to have been that judgment was not pronounced on the appeal of the Society.

It might have seemed that this vexatious dispute was now at an end. But it had been complicated by further aggressive action on the part of the Society. The See of Derry had large fishing rights, part of which were leased to the Society at a rent of £200 a year, and part to another tenant, of whom the Society were under-tenants, at a rent of £50. Of these fisheries the Irish Society attempted to retain possession on

\* The precedents which it contains (p. 301 *sqq.*) are stated to have been gathered by King and Molyneux, and they are made use of in *The Case of Ireland*. The preface to Molyneux's book is dated February 8th, 1697-8, exactly two days after the day appointed for the consideration of the report of the Committee of the Lords referred to in the text.

the expiry of the leases, refusing to pay rent. King was obliged to take legal action against them, and in 1695 had no less than four cases pending, one in the Exchequer, and three in the Common Pleas.

The English Parliament at last determined to set these contentions at rest. In 1703 an Act (3, 4 Anne, c. 1) was passed containing the following enactments:—The Fifteen Hundred Acres and the rights of fishery were to be transferred from the Church to the Irish Society, on consideration of an annual payment for ever of £250 from the Society to the See; while the Bishop's House, which had probably been built by King,\* and for which hitherto a rent was paid to the Society, was to be the property of the Diocese of Derry.

Looking back over the course of this controversy, we appear to be warranted in saying that the Irish Society made an unjustifiable attempt to wrest from the Church property to which, by the terms of its charter, the Society had absolutely no claim—an attempt which Bishop King very properly resisted. The issue was indeed a compromise, but it was wholly in favour of the See of Derry. The lands and rights formerly held by the See were granted to the Society, but the rents, amounting to £250 *per annum*, hitherto paid by the Society and the Corporation of the City to the Bishop, were secured to the latter in perpetuity, and the loss of £50 a year—the value of the remaining fisheries—was compensated for by the acquisition of the Bishop's Palace. And the Bishop was absolved for the future from the need of collecting dues and undertaking troublesome and costly actions at law. Ahab got possession of the vineyard, but Naboth still lived; he received the value of his surrendered property, and he was no longer subject to the attacks of an unscrupulous enemy.

\* Stokes' *Worthies*, p. 233.

EDMUND BURKE

PREACHED ON TRINITY MONDAY, 1900, BY THE RIGHT REV. GEORGE  
ALEXANDER CHADWICK, D.D., LORD BISHOP OF DERRY.

## VI

### EDMUND BURKE

*And in the hearts of all that are wise-hearted I have put wisdom, to make all that I have commanded.*

EXOD. xxxi. 6.

THIS statement is made of the handicraftsmen who constructed the ark of Moses. And of their chief we are told that he was given 'the Spirit of God to devise cunning work, to work in gold and silver and brass, and in cutting of stones for setting.' Thus early was it revealed that what we call the Artistic Faculty comes really from the Lord and Lifegiver. And so every good gift and every perfect gift is from above. Yes, all of it. The intellectual keenness with which Voltaire assailed revelation, and the enormous energies with which Napoleon trampled down liberty, these were God-given, however culpably abused against the Giver.

And this truth teaches us at once the responsibility which is inseparable from all faculty, and the gratitude

which we ought to feel for all great powers, nobly and greatly wielded.

It vindicates us amply when in this consecrated place we celebrate the genius of our own fellow-countrymen, the children of our Alma Mater. Theirs also was a divine gift : them also the Lamp of God illumined.

Among these, I am to speak of him who, in his lifetime, attained the widest fame, contending upon the most conspicuous platform with immortal orators and statesmen, who has ever since grown more illustrious, as the echoes of mere rhetoric die away, and the make-shifts of temporary politics lose their interest, and only the adequate utterance of enduring principles retains its charm—the sheer brilliance of whose style outshone every contemporary man of letters—who laid the foundation upon which the modern artistic and æsthetic criticism is built—whom Adam Smith declared to have alone attained an independent perception of the doctrine of Free Trade—who drafted, before the time was ripe, a plan for the abolition of slavery—who taught England how to govern Ireland, and stopped the plunder of Hindostan—whose enlightened policy would have saved to us the United States, and has actually bound our existing colonies to us, as the world sees, and wonders.

What a magnificent extent of faculty and attain-



ment! In what other Irishman except Bishop Berkeley is there even an approach to such far-reaching capacity?

Yet this is only a portion of the glory of Edmund Burke.

He was probably born in the beginning of 1729, and graduated in 1748, having read widely and thought much, rather than applied himself with diligence to his appointed studies. But in this place it is right to mention that on him—as, alas, on all men—exact scholarship had her revenge in the dread hour when the House of Commons, fastidious then, cried out against a false quantity: nor can I think that his well-known retort was really an expiation—‘I welcome any error which entitles me to repeat again the precious aphorism, *Magnum vect-I-gal est parcimonia.*’

His monument in this University is the College Historical Society—not exactly such as we know it, but admirably suited for the purposes of a thoughtful man, desirous of comparing his own views and his intellectual prowess with those of other men, of learning to express himself clearly and with promptitude, of seeking, in company with kindred spirits, *scire causas rerum*, to understand the true principles of politics and the passions by which politicians are misled.

It is certain that he, at all events, was then proving

the armour and the weapons with which he was soon to attack and to defend, when the interests of more than one nation were at stake.

He entered London before he was of age, poor, but not poverty-stricken until five years later, when his father stopped his allowance because he was neglecting law for letters. But ten years after this indignity, at the age of thirty-six, he was the intimate friend of Johnson and Reynolds, a member of parliament, and private secretary to the Prime Minister, and Johnson had given utterance both to the expectations of his friends and to their fulfilment. 'We who know Mr. Burke know that he will be one of the first men in the country.' 'He has gained more reputation than perhaps any man at his first appearance ever gained before. . . . He is a great man by nature, and is expected soon to attain civil greatness.'

How had he been able in so short a time to reach such eminence, and to attain, almost immediately, a commanding place in the councils of the most brilliant party that ever debated in the British House of Commons, the most brilliant, therefore, that ever discussed politics?

He had published the *Vindication of Natural Society*, so much in the style of Lord Bolingbroke that excellent judges believed it to be his genuine work, although it reduced to absurdity Bolingbroke's recent attack upon

religion, by showing that the same arguments would also be fatal to society. And Mr. Morley rightly infers from this essay that Burke had already discerned, in the spirit of negation which was abroad, civic revolution as truly as religious unbelief.

He had also published that *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, which Lessing studied, and which pointed him the way to the speculations of the *Laocoön*. To influence Kant and Lessing was a great achievement ; but the real merit of the work is that it criticised and taught the world to criticise, not by comparing one work of art with another, but by the laws of the human mind.

Its conclusions are now valueless : so penetrating is the Time-Spirit that I can remember the incredulous amusement which they caused me before I had entered college ; but the methods, which were original, live ; and it is for their sake that German authorities have called it epoch-making.

In the third place, he had devised, and conducted for six years, the *Annual Register*, the fore-runner of all such works indispensable to every student of affairs, which range from the *Statesman's Year-book* to *Dalzel's Almanac*.

What elements of distinction are revealed in these early works—what kind of greatness? There is the rare union of the philosophical and practical. For him

Bolingbroke's sophisms are best met by observing that they would, if once admitted, proceed to upset everything: this practical refutation is final for an intelligence at once so penetrating and so keenly alive to actualities. For him, art must cease to rely upon the precedents of its own past work for its sanction, because it claims to be made for humanity. The steady and fixed attention to affairs which went on for years toiling at the *Register*, revealed the man whose industry in detail, and in research, presently reformed the civil establishment, which was, indeed, the cleansing of an Augean stable of extravagant waste, and in so doing (as he foresaw) cut off at the very fountain the resources by which parliament had for a century been corrupted. But these qualities would have availed him nothing without another—the marvellous eloquence for which I suppose that all of us first turned to him, and for which alone most of us care to know him still.

And this is as convenient a time as any in which to say a little about his style, which is one of the permanent glories of the English language—wonderfully elastic and various ; capable, as in the case of Bolingbroke, of deliberate mimicry, and expressing adequately all the range of human emotion, from scorn for the heterogeneous ministry that lay heads and points in his famous truckle-bed, to compassion for the dis-

crowned queen, hiding in her bosom the sharp remedy against dishonour.

It is, to begin with, a real style, made for the expression and not for the concealment of thought ; and it swells out into those wonderful sentences which we all know, vast and resonant as an Atlantic billow, and as sparkling, simply because his thought or his emotion has expanded so that a smaller utterance would not cover it, nor would an exaggeration of little sentences befit its organic indissoluble unity.

It would be a revelation to many a student of style to read aloud, first any page of any of Mr. Gladstone's publications, and immediately thereupon any page of any of the works of Burke. In his, there is plenty with which one may differ, some which one may even blame, but there is not a page, perhaps there is not a line, in which your critical faculty accuses him of fingering a truth upon which his hands have not firmly closed, nor one in which he fails to convey a real meaning—*his* real meaning, to the reader. It is for this, despite the cynics, that man received the gift of speech.

And I claim this for him, although he has clearly not stayed to bestow upon the broad *façades* of his architectural masses the minute polish of a lapidary in words. Sometimes he has actually said the precise opposite of what he meant, which also is instructive

and consoling to the student. Listen, for example, to an aphorism at once profound and eminently characteristic :—‘ The opinion of my having some abstract right in my favour would not put me much at my ease in passing sentence ’ [in my own cause] ‘ unless I could be sure that there were *no* rights which, in their exercise under certain circumstances, were *not* the most odious of all wrongs and the most vexatious of all injustice.’\* He means to say that he would not be at ease in exacting his rights, unless he were sure that there were no rights which *did* involve injustice. He asks to be assured that there were none which did not involve it.

I have noted some others of the same sort, and many inaccurate constructions ; but I have not come upon one where the meaning was not as plain and strong as the muscles moving under the skin of an athlete in perfect training.

Dare I add, that it would be an equally instructive experiment to read any of the celebrated passages from Burke—the passages you find in every book on literature—along with similar passages from Jeremy Taylor.

Many of the latter—I take my life in my hand saying this—are strictly speaking purple patches ; they are sewn on because they are so brightly coloured, but

\* *On Conciliation with America.*

they have no essential homogeneity with the texture of thought and argument ; and as for the feeling, if it were hot it would burn them up. ‘ So have I espied a cherub’—‘ the hyacinthine locks of seraphim’—‘ the fringes of the north star’—‘ the down of angel’s wings’—all these are very pretty, but for my part I heartily wish they were not there. They come between me and the theologian who is addressing me, and who has something of importance to say. They always remind me of Landor’s epigram : ‘ Thine eggs are very prettily speckled, but those which men choose for their sustenance are of a plain white.’ Even the tawny Numidian lion, best known of all the strange creatures in Jeremy Taylor’s strange menagerie, instead of helping me to realize the courage of the Christian, distracts my attention ; it is of him, not of the saint, that I think, from the time when first he lashes his sides with his tail, until he either scapes into the recesses of his lair or dies the bravest of the forest.

But you do not think of any other animal than the Duke of Bedford only, grudging Burke his pension, and your indignation deepens with every grotesque addition to the picture of the vastness of the grants which he himself enjoys, while assailing a much smaller grant, as you read the equally well-known passage in which Burke retorts :—‘ The Duke of Bedford is the leviathan among the creatures of the Crown. He

tumbles about his unwieldy bulk ; he plays and frolics in the ocean of the royal bounty. Huge as he is, and while he “ lies floating many a rood ” he is still a creature. His ribs, his fins, his whalebone, his blubber, the very spiracles through which he spouts a torrent of brine against his origin, and covers me all over with the spray—everything of him and about him is of the throne. Is it for *him* to question the disposal of the royal bounty ?’

That is the true style, and most of all for the speaker. The image is not deposited beside the thought ; you are not bidden to wonder at the resemblance between them, nor to admire the shrewdness which detected it, nor the poetic taste which stored up such lovely things against the day of need—no, this is the very thought itself which stands up visibly embodied and incarnated in this form, by no means anxious to be ornamental, more solid and more formidable far because it has thus taken upon it flesh and blood. But woe to the sorcerer who dares to conjure up such potent beings, with powers too vague or uncertain to employ them when they come, and therefore doomed to be rent asunder by their indignation.

Now of this robust and vigorous method (so fit for our humanity, in which body and soul are one) Burke was the greatest of all our masters. His



style was much more sinewy and less serpentine than Ruskin's; and it had that correctness which made it grow richer, with practice, to the end, and despising which the progress of Carlyle was from the *Sartor* and the *French Revolution* down to the *Frederick*, that huge Serbonian bog.

If we ask, then, why he was not the greatest of orators, but frequently failed altogether, there are two answers. One is that he wanted manner; and certainly there is evidence that his gestures were sometimes ungainly and his voice harsh. But then he was sometimes successful in the highest degree. One is ashamed to repeat yet again how one of his election speeches raised his colleague to such enthusiasm that he could only exclaim: 'I say "ditto" to Mr. Burke; "ditto" to Mr. Burke.' More than one of his Indian speeches moved reluctant hearers to tears of pity and indignation. What has to be explained is not a failure, but that he failed only sometimes.

The other answer, which comes very near the truth, is that he could not persuade himself to compress. But it is a fact that his style, among its manifold splendours, was capable of an epigrammatical condensation, and often converts much treasure into a single gem.

'Is a politic act the worse for being a generous one?'

‘Justice to others is not always folly to ourselves.’

‘Freedom and not servitude is the cure of anarchy, as religion and not atheism is the true remedy of superstition.’

[In the British empire] ‘England is the head ; but she is not the head and the members too.’

‘Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found.’

‘All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter—we balance our inconveniences ; we give and take ; we remit some rights that we may enjoy others ; and we choose rather to be happy citizens than subtle disputants.’

‘The question with me is not whether you have a right to make your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy.’

‘Is all authority of course lost, when it is not pushed to an extreme ? Is it a certain maxim, that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by a government, the more the subject will be inclined to resist ?’

‘All protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a sort of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance ; it is the dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion.’

‘Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huxter. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can.’

‘In order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavouring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own.’

‘An Englishman is the unfittest person in the world to argue another Englishman into slavery.’

‘It is sometimes as hard to persuade slaves to be freemen as it is to persuade freemen to be slaves.’

‘I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.’

‘The general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them.’

All these pregnant utterances I have gathered from a single speech, that great speech upon Conciliation with the American Colonies, the wisdom of which, if taken for our beacon, might perhaps have saved us the United States, and made us at this moment the arbitrator of the destinies of the world, the wisdom of which, applied only not too late, actually saved us Canada and endeared us to her, and to-day, consistently and boldly applied, exhibits to the world a family of nations bound together in the most cordial and permanent of all alliances, and growing in

population and affluence more rapidly than all the races who wish us ill.

But I have been led away from my point, namely, that the undue diffuseness which so gravely limited Burke's effect as an orator had its seat elsewhere than in his style, for no style ever exhibited more compactly and lucidly as great a wealth of thought as do the extracts I have just read.

The fact is that he did not speak as a party man : much in his best speeches was out of the range of the House of Commons, and in this sense discursive, that he turned away from the passion and the prejudice of the hour to an audience which was not there, investigators who needed to be convinced, and philosophers curious about the springs of action. His most characteristic and priceless utterances were therefore the most out of tune with the brazen instruments around, the most unsuited for the benches whence Fox and Sheridan looked across at North or the great Commoner ; and even those men felt them to be incongruous and unsuitable in the House who were capable of reading them presently with delight.

At first sight, therefore, nothing can be more misleading than the complaint of Goldsmith that he

‘narrowed his mind,

And to party gave up what was meant for mankind,’

for his mind never ceased to occupy itself with the

broadest views of public things. But even the blunders of one genius about his brother are more enlightening than the correctest utterances of Mr. Morley ; and Goldsmith was not wrong in feeling that such utterances belonged of right to another place than the Treasury or the Opposition bench. And very revealing are the lines that follow :—

‘ Too deep for his hearers he went on refining,  
And thought of convincing while they thought of dining.’

It is not so much that he ‘ went on,’ but that he went on refining : nor that he was ‘ too long’ for his hearers but ‘ too deep.’

Would that he had always had self-control enough to think of his unmanly assailants in the house as he did of ‘ the trifling petulance which the rage of party stirred in little minds’ in Bristol when he represented it :—

‘ The highest flight of such clamorous birds is winged in an inferior region of the air. We hear them and we look upon them, just as you, gentlemen, when you enjoy the serene air on your lofty cliffs, look down upon the gulls that skim the mud of your river when it is exhausted of its tide.’\*

Such conscious loftiness would have been the best answer to his friend’s complaint that he had ‘ narrowed

\* *Speech to the Electors of Bristol.*

his mind' to party, and on the whole, it is an answer which he was entitled to make.

And now we see why his defects of the moment are his everlasting merit. He spoke to us, and to all time, when he inflicted himself upon the House of Commons; and the party conflicts around were battles of crows and kites when the sun was dawning upon far horizons. For he investigated the principles which underlie politics with unrivalled clearness and penetration, and brought fallacies and phrases to the test of common sense with a quite pitiless resolution.

Thus, for example, the question whether a member of Parliament is a delegate, bound to obey the mandate of his constituents, is summed up in a paragraph:—

‘Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors, from different and hostile interests, which interest each must maintain as an agent and an advocate, against other agents and advocates, but it is a deliberative assembly of *one* nation, with one interest, that of the whole. . . . You choose a member, indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but a member of Parliament.’

The one charge clearly brought home to him is violence of temper; and yet his warmth was more excellent, even when it misled him, than the impassiveness of most men, looking upon wrongs not their own.

His violence was almost inseparable from his special form of greatness. His lofty sense of right, combined with such a vivid concrete imagination, not shadowing but bodying forth the forms of things unseen (if not unknown), these shook him : he *saw* the Indian princesses insulted ; he *saw* the Queen of France brought low ; he saw not only things remote in space, but future and contingent things—the sure penalties of error, the ruin which dogs the foot-prints of corruption ; and, seeing them, he was so moved that incredulous and careless men took the vision and the seer for a craze and a maniac.

But in truth there are few sights more bracing to the moral sense than the union of so fine a sensibility with such a lofty intellect—such burning ardour, with an insight more penetrating, a reason more conversant with vast and remote speculation than has seemed to justify the abstraction of many a sage from the sorrows and compassions of humanity.

Contrast, for instance, in the crisis of the Revolution, the apathy of Goethe with the burning anxiety of Burke.

It is, indeed, paradoxical that the coolest and most deliberating judgment—a judgment in matters of political principle, which continually reminds one of Hooker's in ecclesiastical affairs—should go with such passionate fervour in the application of his principles.

Even concerning the French Revolution, where Mr. Morley naturally thinks him to have been entirely wrong, his early criticisms were dispassionate and observant ; and if he was not carried away—so Mr. Morley regrets—with any of the enthusiasm of young poets like Wordsworth and Coleridge, that is because he was neither young nor a poet, but an experienced politician with a profound insight, and because he knew something of the men.

He wrote that the outbreak of the old French cruelty might be accidental, but if it were a genuine indication of character they would need as strong a hand as that of their old masters to coerce them. Later on he said :—‘ The effect of liberty to individuals is that they may do as they please : we ought to see what it will please them to do, before we risk congratulations which may be turned into reproofs.’\*

It was only when he saw that the first evil symptoms were indeed expressions of deep-seated character, that he took fire. Then he predicted monarchy resuming its ascendancy, perhaps under another dynasty, and becoming ‘ the most completely arbitrary power that ever appeared on earth.’ Was he so far wrong who thus foretold Napoleon, before Mr. Morley will allow that there were any symptoms to alarm one ?

One would expect so warm a heart and so wise a

\* *Reflections on the Revolution.*



head to belong to a good as well as a great man. And it was so. In a dissipated age, his morals were stainless. In a corrupt age he resigned a pension to preserve his independence, and accepted an office of immense value to cut four-fifths of its emolument away. He brought a woman who had lost her virtue not to an institution, but home to his excellent wife, and they reclaimed her. The poet Crabbe owed him everything, and the painter Barry lived in Rome at his expense while he himself was struggling; and neither the gratitude of the poet satiated, nor the ill-temper of the painter wearied out, his charity.

Thanks to this alliance of mental and moral qualities, his most signal errors came not when his feelings were most excited. For he was not infallible. I think it has not been pointed out that his most signal blunder is curiously parallel with one of Goethe's, who was also a profound reasoner in politics, but who spoke, in the very year of Napoleon's *debut*, of 'the unimportance of the individual in the iron game' of war; and thought it 'a great matter for friend and foe that France is so far from her old power.'\*

Just so, Burke, in 1790, said that 'France is at this time to be considered as expunged out of the system of Europe. Whether she could ever appear in it again as a leading power was not easy to determine; but at

\* *Life*, Duntzer, i. 350; ii. 43.

present he considered France as not politically existing, and most assuredly it would take her much time to restore her to her former active existence.’\*

On the other hand he was right, and time has justified him on all the great questions for which he fought so passionately and failed.

He could not overcome the obstinacy of George III. and save the American colonies ; but he taught, and he was the first who persuaded, a great party to espouse those noble principles by which all our colonies are now governed.

‘My hold on the colonies,’ he said, in that great speech from which I have already quoted, ‘is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government ; they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces

\* *Debate on the Army Estimates* [reported in the third person by himself].

towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have ; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience.\*

I am not sure that Ireland has done as much for the Empire ever since, as she did when Burke, in these memorable words, sowed the seed which is ripe, all over such broad fields, to-day, in such golden harvests —to-day, when the wonderful drama of the nineteenth century exhibits, as its last act, an event unparalleled in history, the most remote of civilized men, Canadians and New Zealanders, fighting shoulder to shoulder to keep afloat over Southern Africa our British flag, to which, thanks to him, they yield a homage at once unbounded and uncoerced.

Next in order to the American question came his great struggle for Economical Reform. This also failed for the moment, only to triumph in due time

Next came the great impeachment, and again he seemed to fail. Warren Hastings was acquitted, and history is glad that one great Englishman did not become, through his very greatness, a lightning conductor, to receive into himself the indignation which an unrighteous system had accumulated. But although he did not convict Hastings, he secured for the teeming millions of the East a righteous government, and for Britain the fair fame of being the only nation which

\* *Speech on Conciliation with America.*

governs subject races as much for their interest as for her own. He did this.

Alone among the statesmen of Irish birth in a great station in England, he never ceased to remember his own island ; he laid down clearly the principles at least by which she ought to be pacified ; and it is not *his* impetuosity nor *his* partizanship, which, in unravelling the tangled skein of Irish affairs, has introduced new confusions, and stranger complications than the old.

Right in America, in Ireland, and in India, is it certain that he was wrong in France? Thanks to him, Europe was not inoculated with the principles which for a century have made that gifted nation alternately the prey of despots, demagogues, priests, and officers in false mustaches, anti-Semite in the name of equality, and now come to the birth of yet another revolution with no strength to bring forth.

Thanks to him, England has understood that freedom is a natural growth and not a manufactured article ; that no political edifice can be strong if the materials employed are rotten ; that—as Coleridge well expressed his wisdom :—

‘ The sensual and the base rebel in vain  
Slaves by their own compulsion.’

Such was Edmund Burke. Macaulay pronounced him to be the greatest man since Milton. Dr. Parr,

in the act of blaming, called him the greatest man upon earth. Mackintosh, who named him along with Shakespere, held that all Gibbon could be taken out of a corner of his brain. Johnson declared that you could not take shelter from the rain under the same archway with Mr. Burke without discovering in ten minutes that he was a very extraordinary man.

Much of his wisdom has now become so familiar that we do not recognise its originality when we turn his pages, but we do not fail to recognise the stately and splendid and yet limpidly translucent utterance, the pure gold, as it were transparent glass. And in this place we render thanks to God, alike for the goodness and the splendour, for the service and the glory.



HENRY GRATTAN

PREACHED ON TRINITY MONDAY, 1901, BY THE REV. WILLIAM  
SHERLOCK, M.A., VICAR OF CLANE AND CANON OF KILDARE.



## VII.

### HENRY GRATTAN

*There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.*

I COR. xii. 4.

IT may strike some as strange that the inspired writer who composed the muster roll of the heroes of Faith in the Eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews should have ranked Gideon and Barak, Samson and Jephthah, with Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, and placed their rude patriotism on a level with the devotion of martyrs.

And yet it is a true and inspiring lesson, that not only do directly spiritual and religious gifts come from above, but that the spirit which impels a man to use his other powers for the love of country or the defence of the oppressed, is Divine in its origin, and akin to the faith of prophet and martyr;—that ‘there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.’ It cannot, therefore, be unbecoming to my office or

to the sacredness of this place that I should on this day—so near the anniversary of his death, 81 years ago—speak of Henry Grattan—patriot and statesman.

Grattan's political life extended over nearly forty years of a most eventful crisis in Irish History, and had its ample share in the changes and chances that usually come to a man, who, at such a crisis, endeavours always to do right without regard to common opinion.

In the land which he served so strenuously he was sometimes idolized, sometimes denounced. At one time the citizens of Dublin followed him with tumultuous applause, and at another they assaulted and threatened his life. Through all he passed consistent and unchanged, in a life which friends and opponents alike pronounced of spotless honour and enthusiastic patriotism. Even the Imperial Legislature, to which he had been transplanted from the more congenial soil of his native parliament gave him no ungenerous audience, and bowed before the magic of his eloquence, and when the end came, bestowed on him, unsought and unwished, a place in the great Abbey of Westminster.

In such a life we do no wrong to recognize what the Epistle to the Hebrews recognizes in the virtues of the Jewish patriots—the gift and inspiration of Almighty God.

Grattan's most striking gift was his eloquence. I need not pause to characterize it. That has often been done both by those who heard him, and by those who have read his printed speeches. I would rather dwell on the spirit which prompted it, and the purposes to which it was devoted.

In speaking of Grattan it is impossible to avoid dwelling on the political questions which occupied his life, but I shall, so far as possible, treat them in a non-political spirit.

His Parliamentary life was mainly directed to two objects—to obtain the Independence of the Irish Parliament, and the Emancipation of his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen.

The first step to an independent Parliament was the awakening of national feeling, and Swift, Molyneux, and Flood had done this. But it was Grattan who really conducted the movement in the country and in Parliament to a triumphant issue; and it was to Grattan that his countrymen felt their thanks were mainly due. It was, indeed, the completeness of his success which rendered imperatively necessary the measure which did away with what has been called 'Grattan's Parliament.' Had he been less successful in rousing and inspiring popular feeling, and in bringing the Parliament into sympathy with its demands, the Act of Union would never have been

necessary. With a cowed and broken-spirited nation, and a House of Commons out of sympathy with the people, and only occasionally rousing itself to repel English usurpation, things might have been left to go on as before. But when the old order passed, and Ireland had extorted from England her parliamentary independence, the Crown remained the only bond of Union between the two countries, and it required very little to prove how inadequate that bond was to secure continuously united action between the Parliaments of the two kingdoms. The theory of the Constitution is one thing ; its practical working is another. The danger was too great to be risked. A union in some shape between England and Ireland became a matter of life or death for the former.

It is no impeachment of Grattan's work that his success in 1782 rendered necessary the step that in 1800 destroyed the separate existence of the Irish Parliament. There is nothing final in Politics. The best to-day must give place to something better still to-morrow, if the body politic lives and grows. The question is, whether Grattan himself ought not to have seen this, and to have bowed to the inevitable.

But how much there is to be said on the other side ! He was supported by the best and ablest Irishmen of the day. He was opposed by unblushing corruption,

and a policy almost, if not actually, treacherous. It was, indeed, a political necessity for England, but he might well be excused that he thought first of Ireland.

The Union, as every one but Mr. Ingram admits, was carried in a way repulsive to all honest men. It has been defended or excused by Lord Rosebery and others on the extraordinary plea that it was the only means of passing a measure through an Irish Parliament, and that such corruption was the custom of the day.\* May we not ask what Government had made it the custom? But, passing by this, the Union was not accompanied by any of the changes which might have softened the opposition of a patriotic Irishman. It postponed Roman Catholic emancipation for many years. It left the gross abuses of the Established Church untouched. It increased Irish taxation. It took away the Irish Representatives from their country, removing them from the constant reminder of the evils that cried for redress, and by merging them in a far larger body totally ignorant of Ireland it made the passage of Irish measures more slow and precarious. It ruined the chief city of the nation. It ultimately brought about a severance between the classes and the masses greater than existed before. It deprived the poor of the natural leadership of the wealthy and

\* Ashbourne's *Pitt*, p. 292.

educated ; and deprived the latter of their cohesion and power to act together. Irish Society became merged in London Society. 'In a word, the Union,' as Mr. Lecky says,\* 'was not only a great crime, but a great blunder.' It has driven every popular movement to seek its leaders in a lower stratum of society, and has given those movements an anti-English tone. It has, moreover, inflicted a strange political incapacity upon the educated and wealthy classes. During the last century Irish gentlemen have played a remarkable part in India and the Colonies, but they have done little or nothing in political life at home. Never, perhaps, did what had been till lately a ruling class show its incapacity in a more melancholy way than did the Irish gentry in their total inability to forecast the two greatest changes that the last century wrought in Ireland—the disestablishment of the Church, and the revolution in land legislation. Both seem to have come upon them utterly by surprise, though plain indications of both had been long apparent.

The Union has caused these evils not from any inherent viciousness in the idea of a Legislative Union, but by reason of the time and the way in which it was carried out. Against it Grattan struggled in vain. As he said, years after, in language

\* *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, Henry Grattan, p. 194.

equally true and pathetic, it was his fate to 'follow the hearse' of that national Parliament 'by whose cradle he had sat,' and from which he had hoped so much. But though he lived to see most of the warnings he had uttered fulfilled, he was too generous and too true a patriot to rejoice in their fulfilment, or to indulge in useless recriminations.

The second great task proposed to himself by Grattan was the Emancipation of his Roman Catholic countrymen. What that phrase covers can only be understood by those who know what the penal laws affecting Roman Catholics were. It is to the honour of human nature that they were never carried out to their full extent. But, however, modified by disuse or by the repeal of the most intolerable provisions, the system was utterly vicious and unjust. To the attempts to destroy this system, Grattan, though he was the strongest of Protestants, devoted himself, as he said, with 'desperate fidelity.' This was the cause to which, in his old age, he consecrated his eloquence in the Imperial Parliament, and he shortened his life by the journey he made during his last illness to speak in its behalf. The Irish Parliament, though exclusively Protestant, had taken considerable steps in the direction of Emancipation before the Union. In 1793 it admitted Roman Catholics to the elective franchise, and there can be

no doubt that had not the Union intervened, Grattan would, before long, have obtained all the boon for which he sought. Many of his finest and most ably-reasoned speeches were devoted to the subject. In them we see how his soul revolted from the injustice which excluded the mass of tax-payers from all representation ; which demanded from them all the sacrifices of patriotism, while it denied them the possession of its virtue ; and took advantage of every excuse to add to the oppression under which they suffered. ‘ I have heard,’ he once exclaimed (Feb. 19, 1787) when the Irish Government proposed to demolish any Roman Catholic place of worship in which illegal meetings took place—‘ I have heard of transgressors being dragged from the Sanctuary, but I never heard of the Sanctuary being demolished. . . . If the Roman Catholics are of a different religion, yet they have one common God, one common Saviour with gentlemen themselves ; and surely the God of the Protestant Temple is the God of the Catholic Temple.’ He urged that the worship of the Virgin Mary and the belief in Transubstantiation were no justification for excluding a man from the privileges of citizenship. That if Roman Catholics were good enough to fight for the country, they were good enough to hold commissions in the army, and to be allowed degrees in medicine, and seats



in parliament and on the judicial bench. One would think such truths were too obvious and elementary to need repetition or enforcement if one did not know that Fitz Gibbon, and Castlereagh, and even Alexander Knox refused to accept them. The belief that to be a Roman Catholic was to be an enemy of liberty was strong enough to make them forget that, as Grattan reminded them, Magna Charta was originally extorted from the King by Roman Catholic Barons and Bishops, and had been guarded by them for centuries. With something of prophetic insight, Grattan warned the Imperial Parliament that in denying, or even delaying, justice to Roman Catholics they were sowing the seed of separation. 'When you finally decide against the Catholic question you abandon the idea of governing Ireland by affection, and you adopt the idea of coercion in its place. This misfortune will be very great to both of us. In what particular way it will break out I know not, but I know that it will be ruin; when I say ruin, you must know that I mean ultimate separation; separation either in fact or separation in disposition' (April 22, 1812).

As he grew older he touched a higher chord (May 3, 1819). In denying Roman Catholic Emancipation 'I say we affect the foundation of our Faith, and disobey a prime Order of Natural and Revealed

Religion, which is to love one another. In no other way can you *serve* your Maker : Prayer is adoration, not service : by serving one another you become a part of this Creation ; and an auxiliary member of His system. For this the Redeemer came among you ; to ordain two great truths—the love of God, and the love of man.’ Again, he said in the same speech—‘Gentlemen call this a question of Empire : the Gospel is not a question of Empire : it is the highest imaginable interest pronounced by Infinite Wisdom ; as the Empire swerves from it she falters ; as she stands by it she prospers.’ Once more he said—‘Whenever you attempt to establish your Government or your prosperity or your Church on religious restrictions, you establish them on a false foundation, and you oppose the Almighty, and though you had a host of mitres on your side, you banish God from your ecclesiastical constitution, and freedom from your political.’

And here I desire to call your particular attention to the fact that Grattan’s protest was not only or chiefly against the infliction of political disabilities. His first charge against the existing system was its injustice in the matter of education. This he summed up (Feb. 23, 1793) under three heads—1. That Roman Catholics were refused a degree in Trinity College ; 2. That they were refused the right of endowing their

own University; and 3. That they were driven to seek education abroad. It was to remedy this so far as he could that he supported the grant to Maynooth. In this matter of Emancipation we may reflect with pardonable pride that Irish Protestants took the lead, and that the students of Trinity College presented an address to Grattan (in 1795), thanking him for his exertions in the Cause, while the University itself was the first to open her doors and admit to her honours members of the Roman Catholic Faith. Nevertheless, it still remains a reproach to the Protestants and to the Legislature of the United Kingdom, that Roman Catholics are refused a University of their own: a refusal which Grattan more than a century ago denounced as an act of injustice, and a denial of Christian Charity. I believe that this refusal is not by the wish of the great mass of Irish Protestants; it is certainly not by that of Irish Churchmen, who seek nothing for themselves that they would not give to all their fellow-countrymen.

I ask you to turn now to a side of Grattan's work less showy and less recognized, but equally characteristic of the man;—his efforts to reform the Church Establishment, and to improve the material condition of his poorer countrymen. He was no democrat. The rule of the ignorant many was abhorrent to him.

He loved the people ; but he thought that a statesman should lead them, and not follow them. He faced unpopularity rather than use the forces of disorder and revolution to compel even a necessary reform. But he saw that social and economical evils unredressed are often the seed-bed of Revolution, and his heart beat in sympathy with the sorrows and wants of the poor. ‘Ireland,’ he said once (Feb. 14, 1788) in a noble appeal to the National Parliament, ‘is a great capacity not yet brought into action ; much has been civilized, much has been reclaimed, but something is to be redressed : the lower orders of the people claim your attention ; *the best husbandry is the husbandry of the human creature*. What ! can you reclaim the tops of your mountains, and cannot you improve your people ? Every animal except the tiger (as I have heard) may be tamed : the method is to feed, to feed after hunger : you have with your own peasantry begun the process, you had better complete the experiment.’

In this matter nothing can be more instructive than the contrast between the words and spirit of Bishop Berkeley and those of Grattan. Berkeley—as a philosopher and philanthropist the glory of this University—was struck by the misery and degradation of the lower orders in Ireland, and he exerted himself to find a practical remedy, even

going so far on that behalf as to wear clothes and a wig made in his village of Cloyne. He, moreover, published in the *Querist* and elsewhere his views on the subject.

But he speaks always as an Englishman to a debased and inferior race. He is never tired of railing at the idleness, dirt, and beggary of the Irish. He preaches industry and cleanliness as a benevolent slave-master might to his negroes. If they venture to complain of political bondage, commercial restrictions, or exorbitant rents, he silences them by reminding them that the Government has treated them with leniency, that they might be worse off, that it is their duty to make the best of what they have. A tight house, warm clothing, and enough to eat is the *summum bonum* he puts before them. His exhortations read like a transcript from the speech of Mammon, 'the least erected spirit that fell from Heaven,' to the assembled devils in Hell, exhorting them to make themselves as comfortable as they can there !

' Our greatness will appear  
Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,  
Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse  
We can create, and in what place soe'er  
Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain  
Through labour and endurance.'

But Grattan always speaks as an Irishman, as one of themselves, whose welfare and happiness is bound

up with theirs, who desires that they should all possess the same liberty and the same privileges as himself.

There were two crying evils which he desired above all to remedy. One was the condition of the Established Church which paralysed her influence for good. The other was the iniquity of the Tithe Laws, which, especially in the south, pressed most heavily upon the very poor.

With regard to the Church—Grattan was not a well taught Churchman. He thought, for instance, that in the Communion Service we curse our neighbours. But he was sincerely religious, and was certainly more Church-like in his views than the bishops and statesmen who used the Church as an instrument of state policy. ‘Revelation,’ he said (April 23, 1812), ‘is the gift of God, given to man, to be interpreted according to the best of that understanding which his Maker has bestowed. The Christian religion is the property of man independently of the state. The naked Irishman has a right of approach to his God without a licence from his King : in this consists his duty here and his salvation hereafter. The state that punishes him for the discharge of his duty, violates her own, and offends against her God.’

When others refused to touch abuses connected

with the Church for fear of reducing her wealth, or of impairing the Protestant ascendancy, Grattan held his course straight for what would better enable her to do her spiritual work in the country, a work which some of her hierarchy had forgotten.

The Church had no doubt been ruthlessly plundered from time to time, and by none with less pity than by some of her own Bishops. But in spite of this she still retained ample endowments. All that was needed was that they should be better distributed. Grattan's first proposal was to redress the excessive inequalities of clerical incomes. In the next place he desired to put an end to the scandal of the non-residence of wealthy bishops and clergy who went to enjoy their income in England, leaving, as he said, the tithe-proctor as a sort of wolf to take the place of the shepherd, while some half-starved curate undertook the spiritual ministrations. He proposed, as a remedy for this, a moderate tax for non-residence ; and to take away all excuse for it he wished to make effectual provision for building parsonages where they were required. Lastly, he never concealed his hatred of the system of Patronage which then handed over the chief places in the Church to men who were strangers to the country, greedy of money, or unscrupulous partizans. If such a wise reform had been carried out, the Church

would have started afresh well equipped for her work. But the bishops and higher clergy were hostile, and the inferior clergy powerless, so things remained as they were.

Nor had Grattan better success when he tried to deal with the Tithe Laws, though the abuses of this system had become an intolerable burden to the poor, and a real danger to the Church. We must remember that, at that time, direct taxation laid its hands on nearly every article of consumption. Besides this, the poorest cabin had to pay its hearth money and window tax. In addition came the tithe proctor, who seized from the miserable labourer in the South of Ireland the potato tithe: and, not content with this, levied a new and illegal tax on the poor man's turf, which was known by the name of 'smoke money': crowning all by demanding his fees for collection. Infamous, as the Publicans in Palestine of old—the tithe proctors cheated both parson and peasant, and while the latter was mercilessly taxed, the wealthy grazier escaped. Often when the tenant had 'set out' his harvest and gave notice to parson and proctor to claim the tithe, no attention was paid to the notice, and the unfortunate man was forced either to leave his crops on the land long after they ought to have been harvested; or if he gathered them into safety, to incur vexa-



tious and ruinous law proceedings in the vicarial courts, which sometimes enforced illegal charges, and even went so far as to excommunicate defaulters. Here again the bishops and clergy opposed all reform, and raised the cry that the Church was in danger. The country gentlemen too were indifferent if not hostile, fearing that the burden taken from the backs of the peasantry would fall upon them. Year after year Grattan renewed his attacks. To the plea of the poverty of the Irish Church, made by six Bishops of the Southern Province, he replied, in a fine strain of irony (May 8th, 1789), ‘ When certain Right Reverend dignitaries insist on the poverty of the Church of Ireland, they suggest to the people of Ireland the following question : What induced those dignitaries to come to Ireland ? Am I to understand that they left their great pretensions in the English Church from a contempt of riches ; and sought preferment in the Irish Church from a love of its poverty ? Am I to understand that a contempt for dignity, added to a contempt of riches, has induced them to stand in the way of our native clergy, and happily fixes their humble eye upon the Irish Mitre ? ’ But in truth their alarm was pretended. Grattan did not propose to reduce the legitimate income of the Church, but to put an end to extortion. His main proposals were two. 1. To

get rid of the tithe proctor and his illegal charges, by giving the clergy power to recover the tithe value according to certain rates *fixed by Act of Parliament*. 2. To exempt the poor of the Southern Provinces from the potato tithe, and those of other parts of the country from various small vexatious dues, but to make full compensation for the tithes so remitted by a levy off the Barony. Here again his efforts were defeated, and tithes remained to generate untold misery, and lasting ill feeling in the country.

I do not fear to say that these attempts of Grattan to reform the abuses of the Church establishment, and to give relief to the very poor, were noble, Christian, and statesmanlike actions, worthy to stand on a level with his more brilliant achievements for the Irish Parliament, and for the emancipation of Roman Catholics.

I hold no brief to maintain that Grattan was perfectly wise or perfectly unprejudiced. I do not pretend that his speech was never disfigured by an undue violence. He was probably on reflection little pleased with himself for his crushing reply to his former friend Flood, though it was uttered after bitter provocation. But making every reduction that truth requires, I believe that we shall find no great orator of ancient or modern times whose eloquence was less disfigured by personal attacks ; whose sincerity in the

cause of liberty and justice was more transparent ; and who was so entirely free from the lust of power, wealth, and position.

It has been said that Grattan was rather a poet than a statesman. The remark shows some want of discernment. Grattan was not a poet, though he had the poet's gift of imagination. The one gift common to both poet and statesman is this. Without imagination a man may be a politician, but never a statesman. Imagination gives the statesman his insight into the principles of things, the lines of Divine Government, and the motives of human actions, and enables him to grasp the real necessities of the State, and steer it safely through the perils around. The Hebrew prophets had that gift, and they were better statesmen than the politicians of Jerusalem and Samaria. Grattan was a good statesman, but a bad politician. He was seldom on the winning side ; never in office ; mostly in opposition. But his proposals for Roman Catholic Emancipation, for the Reform of Parliament, and the Church Establishment, and for Tithe Commutation, and for the benefit of the labouring poor, were addressed to the great evils under which Ireland laboured. They were in advance of the age, and though defeated, they have been stamped by experience and by history as truly patriotic and truly statesmanlike.

The same keen insight into the tendencies of the age showed him the change that was coming over European thought in the matter of religion. To many, at that time, the Revolution seemed to have spent its force, and to have been hopelessly discredited. But Grattan warned all Christians that it was a moment when they ought to lay aside their suspicions and their quarrels, and unite against the coming danger. Speaking of 'the drift of the age,' just a year before he died, he uttered these impressive words : ' The question is not now *which* Church ? But whether any ? Church or no Church ? God or no God ? When you attack the religion of Europe—you attack the religion of England. When you attack Dr. Troy, you attack the Archbishop of Canterbury.'

In concluding a sketch which I feel only too keenly is not worthy of its subject, I will say but this. It is given to very few to be either orators or statesmen of the first rank, and in that respect probably none of us expect or hope that the mantle of Grattan may be ours. But there is one thing in which we may without arrogance emulate him—the spirit that breathed through his eloquence and inspired his labour for the State—the love, not of Ireland only, but of Irishmen. 'I love,' he said, in one of his last speeches in the Irish Parliament, ' I love the Protestants, I love the

Presbyterians, I love the Catholics, that is, I love the Irish. If ever my affection abates, it is when they hate one another.'

Ireland can never forget the man whose whole life breathed this spirit; who united genuine loyalty with genuine patriotism, and rose above the jealousy of party spirit, and the littleness of personal ambition. 'No bust nor epitaph marks the spot where he sleeps in Westminster Abbey,' but Grattan's memory needs none there; it is enshrined in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. And yet, it is well that his figure, moulded by the hand of Irish genius, should stand in front of the Parliament house in which his voice ever contended for truth and justice, and that it should face with uplifted arm this ancient College, as if appealing to the generous youth who issue from its portals, charging them to consecrate their learning, their talents, and all their natural forces to the service of their native land, and of their fellow-countrymen of every creed.



VISCOUNT FALKLAND

PREACHED ON TRINITY MONDAY, 1902, BY REV. W. R. WESTROPP  
ROBERTS, B.D., FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE.



## VIII.

### VISCOUNT FALKLAND

*Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report ; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.*

PHILIPPIANS iv. 8.

AMONG the families whose members have, from time to time, become distinguished and illustrious in our annals few can make a higher boast than the house of Cary. In the last decade of the reign of Queen Elizabeth we find Sir Henry Cary, the representative of a knightly family long seated in Somerset and Dorsetshire, entering Exeter College, Oxford, where he became highly accomplished and acquired that love for literature and cultivation of manner which has been characteristic of so many of his race.

Before the close of the sixteenth century he succeeded his father, Sir Edward Cary, as Master of the

Queen's jewels, and shortly afterwards he was united in marriage to Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir of Sir Lawrence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Sir Henry was never in affluent circumstances, and it was necessary, if he were to maintain the position occupied by his ancestors, that he should ally himself to a lady of fortune and rank equal to his own. Elizabeth Tanfield possessed ample means, and was heir to Burford Priory and Great Tew, both charming seats not far from Oxford. Her wealth and rank were thus sufficient to secure her a brilliant marriage, while her mental qualities and attainments and the beauty of her character were such as to render few men worthy of her. Thoughtful beyond her years, she early exhibited a strong inclination for the study of languages, mastering French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, and Hebrew before her marriage at the age of fifteen years.

Not long after their union Sir Henry Cary, leaving his wife at her father's residence, served in the Low Countries, and was taken prisoner at the siege of Ostend. After his release, and on his return to England, he was introduced to Court, and was appointed to a position in the household of the king. In November, 1620, he was created in the Scottish peerage Viscount Falkland in the county of Fife.

About the year 1610 Lucius Cary, his eldest son,

the subject of this discourse, was born, and was brought up at Great Tew, his grandfather's residence, while his parents resided chiefly at Court.

In 1622 Lord Falkland, mainly by the favour of Buckingham, was appointed to succeed Viscount Grandison as Lord Deputy of Ireland. He landed at Howth on Friday night, the 6th September, and on the following Sunday received the sword in Christ Church. Always in want of money, at no time of his career was he free from pecuniary embarrassment. To enable him to enter upon the office of Lord Deputy he was obliged to induce his wife to mortgage her fortune, by which she so seriously offended her father, Chief Baron Tanfield, that he disinherited her and her husband, and settled the lands of Burford Priory and Great Tew, in Oxfordshire, on his grandson Lucius.

It was in these early years of his life that the character of Lucius Cary was formed and moulded, largely by the influence of his mother, a woman of singular piety and sweetness of disposition. For her the call of duty was imperative, and her life appears to have been a continuous sacrifice of self in her devotion to others. Her first care was her family and the instruction of her children in religion and letters; her second, at that time, the establishment of industrial schools in Dublin, in which instruction in the

making of broadcloth was afforded, and other trades taught. But her endeavours to promote the well-being of the people were unsuccessful. They were ready to take her money, but could not exchange the old life of indigent freedom for one of greater advantages, but imposing regular restraint.

Lucius Cary, who had accompanied his parents to Dublin, entered Trinity College shortly afterwards, being then about twelve years old. With such parents to direct his studies it is little wonder that the boy profited to the utmost by the instruction and education afforded him in the University. Lord Falkland desired that his son should occupy a place near him whenever possible, so that Lucius enjoyed the society, and derived advantage from the conversation, of the many cultivated and learned men who assembled at his father's Court.

Something must now be said of the condition of Trinity College at the time of his undergraduate course.

William Temple, formerly of King's College, Cambridge, was our Provost when Lord Falkland was appointed Lord Deputy. We are indebted to Temple for many reforms. He divided the Fellows into seven Senior and nine Junior, four of whom were probationers, and he placed the Government of the College in the hands of the former. By his

careful administration of the College revenues he was enabled to increase the number of Scholars from twenty-eight to seventy.\* It is to Temple also that we owe the arrangement of our College offices, which he modelled upon that of the Cambridge Colleges.

Then, as at present, students were divided into four classes. In the junior class Logic was studied, and students were required to bring to their lectures an analysis '*Inventionis et Elocutionis Rhetoricae*.' In the second year the study of Logic was continued, and students were obliged to present each week an analysis '*Inventionis et Judicii*.' In the third year students were taught Physiology, and in the fourth Psychology and Ethics. It was in his fourth year of study (1625) that Cary took his degree.†

In the same year an incident occurred, which separated the son from his mother. Lady Falkland

\* In 1620 we find a statement by Temple that, of natives by birth, there were five Fellows and thirty-seven Scholars.

† The Commencements in these days were brilliant pageants, and were held with great solemnity, most probably in St. Patrick's Cathedral, as it is likely that the great Commencements, held in St. Patrick's Cathedral, August 17th and 18th, 1614, at which the Lord Lieutenant and Officers of State were present, and at which James Ussher took his Degree of D.D., served as a model for future occasions. Our students at that time regularly attended sermons in Christ Church Cathedral, where certain seats were assigned to them and to the Fellows. It may be interesting to note that in 1613 there were twenty native Irish out of sixty-five students supported by the College.

had long favoured Roman Catholic doctrine, but appears only to have broken away openly from the Established Church in 1625. This led to a rupture between her and Lord Falkland, in consequence of which Lady Falkland left Ireland, and, after living for some time in retirement in Oxfordshire, she took up her residence in London, where she employed herself in soliciting suits for her husband, and promoting his interest by every means in her power.

This year was thus a memorable one in the life of Lucius, for the difference of religious opinion, which then arose between his parents, made a lasting impression upon him, as we shall see later on. Next year, on the occasion of the king's coronation, we find the name of Lucius Cary among those who received knighthood from Lord Falkland.

At this time the young man was not only master of Latin, having read all the poets and the best authors, but understood and spoke French with the ease and fluency of one brought up in France.

Lord Falkland, when Lord Deputy, appears to have quarrelled with many of the members of the Privy Council and the Lords Justices, who gratified their spite by inducing the king to deprive Sir Lucius of a company his father had conferred upon him, and give it to Sir Francis Willoughby. Lucius was naturally indignant at such treatment, and challenged

Willoughby to 'give him satisfaction with his sworde.' Sir Francis, who was in no way party to this act, denied having sought the command of the company, but Sir Lucius was not appeased by his reply, and expressed his determination to hold Willoughby responsible, either for his own act or for that of the king. The bold language made use of in this letter, and the expressed determination to meet Willoughby, appears to have reached the ears of the king, for Sir Lucius was committed to the Fleet by an order of the Privy Council on the 17th January, 1630, and was further threatened with the Star Chamber, but was liberated on the 27th by the intercession of Lord Falkland with His Majesty.

Shortly before this, Sir Lucius entered into possession of the estates of Burford and Great Tew, and he consequently found himself, at the age of nineteen years, possessed of two excellent and well-furnished houses and an income of some £2000 per annum.

Chivalrous and cultivated, Sir Lucius numbered many friends, the chief among whom was the amiable and scholarly Sir Henry Morison. The remarkable friendship which existed between Cary and Morison and the untimely death of the latter, formed the subject of a Pindaric Ode by Ben Jonson, who had some years before sung the praises of Lord Falkland. In the society of the Morisons he became acquainted

with Letitia, the sister of Sir Henry, for whom he conceived an ardent passion, and to whom he was married in 1631. Letitia Morison's patrimony was small, but although the marriage united him to 'a lady of most extraordinary wit and judgment, and of the most signal virtue and exemplary life that the age produced'—to quote the words of Lord Clarendon\*—it nevertheless was the cause of his father's deep displeasure, as it struck a death-blow at his scheme for repairing his broken fortune and fallen hopes by an advantageous alliance between his son and the daughter of the Lord Treasurer.

Sir Lucius, on learning his father's serious displeasure, implored his forgiveness, offering at the same time to resign the whole of the Tanfield estates, and actually went so far as to have the deeds of transfer prepared, declaring himself ready to execute them and to rely solely on his father's bounty. But Lord Falkland neither forgave the marriage nor accepted the generous offer of his son. Deeply pained at this treatment, and unwilling to remain in the neighbourhood of a father who would no longer receive him, Sir Lucius, accompanied by his wife, immediately left England for Holland, intending to obtain there some military command ; but, failing to do so, he returned home to England the following

\* *Life*, p. 40.



year and retired to Tew, thinking 'that as he was not likely to improve himself in arms, he might advance in letters.'\* So bent was he on this design that he resolved not to see 'London which he loved above all places'† until he had perfected himself in Greek literature. The death of Lord Falkland in 1633 was the first interruption to this retirement.

Although the demise of his father brought Sir Lucius a peerage, it added nothing to his income; but, on the contrary, involved him in serious loss, as he was forced to sell one of his own estates to clear off a heavy mortgage with which his patrimony was burdened. Having visited London to arrange his affairs, Lord Falkland, as we must now call him, again retired to the country and resumed his studies. And now follow the halcyon days of Falkland's existence. His life at Great Tew was one of tranquillity and intellectual enjoyment, undisturbed by domestic or political anxiety.

Among the friends who frequently visited him, and who found at Tew a home and a refuge from the cares and troubles of life, we find Dr. Sheldon the future Primate, the learned Hammond, Morley the patron and friend of Isaac Walton, Chillingworth the controversialist, John Hales of Eton, the poets

\* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 21.

† Teale's *Lives of English Laymen*, p. 6.

Waller and Cowley, Thomas Triplet the wit of Christ Church, Dr. Earle, and lastly, but above all, Edward Hyde, the future Earl of Clarendon.

‘When we went from Oxford to Great Tew,’ says Triplet,\* ‘as we found ourselves out of the University so we never thought ourselves absent from home.’ Bishop Earle has left it on record that he learnt more in conversation at Tew than at Oxford, while Clarendon tells us that Falkland’s ‘whole conversation was one *convivium philosophicum*, or *convivium theologicum*, enlivened and refreshed by wit, good humour, and pleasantness of discourse.’ It was here that Chillingworth wrote his book against the Jesuit Nott, and in this society debated many of the controversial points embodied in that work.

Lord Falkland possessed a gentleness which spread its influence on those around him, and that well-bred politeness which springs from a delicate regard for the feelings of others. His great delight was to aid ‘worthy persons who needed assistance, as Ben Jonson and others,’† who could accept from him what it would have been impossible for them to take from other hands. By his kindness to those with whom he came in contact he won their affection, as he did their respect by the depth and variety of

\* Teale, p. 9.

† *Lives from the Clarendon Gallery*, vol. I., p. 11.

his attainments. Cheerful and animated, he delighted all by his conversation and wit, and yet we find it recorded that no profane or loose word ever passed his lips, or indeed—such was his influence—was ever uttered in his presence.

Falkland was a man of deeply religious views, and his intimate friend Triplet tells us ‘his religion was the more eminent because the more early, at that age when young gallants think least of it.’\* Of his theological works there remain, ‘A discourse on Episcopacy,’ ‘A discourse on the Infallibility of the Church of Rome,’ and ‘A Reply to the Answer thereto,’ ‘A Letter addressed to Mr. Walter Montague concerning his change of Religion,’ and others of less importance. He was a decided member of the Church of England ; but his toleration for the opinions of those who differed from him was not less remarkable than the knowledge upon which his own were based. His treatise against the Infallibility of the Church of Rome is a conspicuous monument to his learning and candour.

I have already mentioned that his mother became a member of the Church of Rome, and this induced Falkland to devote much of his time to controversial studies, and stimulated him to read the best of the Greek and Latin Fathers. He never

\* Dr. Triplet’s *Dedication*.

declined an opportunity or occasion of conference with Roman Catholics, whether priests or laymen, and conducted himself with such civility in controversy that they retained some hope of his conversion, even when they had ceased to reason with him. As Triplet says of him, 'He excelled his antagonist no less in civility than in reason, and thus showed that a gentleman writ with a scholar's pen.'\*

But the year 1639 brought to a close the pleasant life at Tew, and interrupted the delightful interchange of views of those who met there. In this year King Charles took the field in person against the Scotch, and Falkland, feeling that duty led him to take arms in his sovereign's cause, expressed his desire of obtaining a command, and, though disappointed in this, he volunteered to serve under the Earl of Essex. The expedition to Scotland was fruitless and inglorious. The army was disbanded, the Scots burned their own version of the proposed treaty at the hands of the common hangman, and the king returned to London, his army disappointed, his nobility impoverished, and his reputation tarnished.

From this time we shall find Falkland a prominent figure in that wide arena in which passion, cupidity, political ambition, religious enthusiasm, and desire

\* *Lives from the Clarendon Gallery*, vol. I., p. 179.

for equity and justice were the various incentives to the actions of those within it.

In the succeeding year Falkland was chosen Member of Parliament for Newport, in the Isle of Wight. The first occasion on which he addressed the House was that memorable one when the Earl of Strafford was impeached of high treason. The unkindness, and even injustice, displayed by Strafford to Falkland's father when Lord Deputy might have reasonably made him a somewhat partial critic of Strafford's conduct; yet we find that he was the only Member of the House of Commons who, when the proposal was made to accuse Strafford of high treason, desired the House to consider 'Whether it would not suit better with the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest many of those particulars which had been mentioned by a committee before they sent up to accuse him.'\* This suggestion was rejected by Pym, who feared that any delay might enable Strafford to use his influence with the king to dissolve Parliament, and so save himself from further proceedings.

We next find Falkland speaking at some length against the legality of the ship-money, and on the opinion which had been pronounced by the judges on this subject. In this speech he draws attention to,

\* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. I., p. 243 (ed. 1849).

and dwells upon, the crimes of the Lord Keeper Finch.

‘Mr. Speaker,’ said he, ‘there is one that I must not lose in the crowd, whom I doubt not but we shall find, when we examine the rest of them, with what hopes they have been tempted, by what fears they have been assailed, and by what and by whose importunity they have been pursued, before they consented to what they did ; I doubt, I say, but we shall find him to have been a most admirable solicitor, but a most abominable judge ; he it is who not only gave away with his breath what our ancestors had purchased for us by so large an expense of their time, their care, their treasure, and their blood ; not only gave away, but strove to root up those liberties which they had cut down, and to make our grievances immortal, and our slavery irreparable, lest any part of our posterity might want occasion to curse him ; he declared that power to be so inherent to the Crown as that it was not in the power even of Parliaments to divide them.’\*

This vigorous language, followed up by a resolution that a Select Committee might draw up his and their charge, was productive of important results. Four resolutions were passed in the House, declaring that the ‘raising of ship-money,’ the ‘extra judicial

,\* *Lives from the Clarendon Gallery*, vol. I., p. 41.

opinion of the judges,' 'the ship-writs,' and the 'judgment in Mr. Hampden's case,' were all contrary to the laws of the realm and the rights of property. Shortly afterwards the thanks of the House of Commons were ordered to Mr. St. John and Mr. Whitelock, the Lord Falkland, and Mr. Hyde, for 'the great services they have performed to the honour of this House and the good of the Commonwealth in their conduct of this business.'\*

The accusation of the Lord Keeper Finch was but the first step on the path that was now pursued by the supporters of legal and constitutional rights, who were determined to resist the undue exercise of power in Church and State. Wren, the Bishop of Ely, was next impeached, and shortly afterwards Laud was voted by the House of Commons to be a traitor. The London petition, signed by 15,000 people, alleging their various grievances from the oppression of the bishops, and praying for the abolition of Episcopacy, was presented in December.

The discussion of the London and other petitions on the 8th February gave rise to a debate on episcopal government, in which Lord Falkland distinguished himself by a speech of singular clearness of statement and force of argument. He pointed out that the oppressions of the people, both in religion

\* *Lives from the Clarendon Gallery*, vol. I., p. 43.



and liberty, were due in a large measure to the bishops and their adherents. 'But, alas!' said he, 'they, whose ancestors in the darkest times excommunicated the breakers of Magna Charta, did now, by themselves and their adherents, both write, preach, plot, and act against it, by encouraging Dr. Beale, by preferring Dr. Mainwaring, appearing forward for monopolies and ship-money, and, if any were slow and backward to comply, blasting both them and their preferment with the utmost expression of their hatred, the title of Puritan.\*

We must remember that what Falkland had in his mind was an ideal system of Church government and ideal bishops, and he consequently found fault with all that fell short of these ideals. Still, with all his objections to the practices of the bishops, he was not in sympathy with those who were in favour of the abolition of episcopacy. He wished to reform rather than to destroy, and spoke in favour of a limited episcopacy. 'My opinion is,' said he, 'that we should not root up this ancient tree, as dead as it appears, till we have tried whether by this or the like topping of the branches the sap, which was unable to feed the whole, may not serve to make what is left both grow and flourish.†' Finally, a compromise was effected by Falkland, in which it was agreed that the London

\* *Lives from the Clarendon Gallery*, vol. I., p. 56. † *Ibid*, p. 62.



petition should be referred to a committee, but that the question of episcopacy should be reserved for the future consideration of the House.

It is necessary for us to trace briefly the course of events which followed this speech, in order to make clear the influence and position of Lord Falkland in the domain of politics.

In March, 1641, a Bill was drawn, which aimed at depriving the bishops of their legislative and judicial powers in the House of Peers, as prejudicial to the Commonwealth, but it is to be noted that episcopacy was not challenged in this measure. There is no doubt but that the Bill was received in the House with approbation by many who were neither of the same principles nor purposes, and who, after hearing the arguments in its favour, honestly believed that the passing of this Act was the only means of preserving the Church. Lord Falkland took that view, and it was in the debate arising out of this Bill that the first difference of opinion between Falkland and Hyde arose, and they found themselves on opposite sides.

The Bill passed the Commons in the month of May, and while it was still being debated in the Lords, another Bill was introduced by Sir Edward Dering into the House of Commons, 'for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops,

Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chapters and Canons, and all other under officers.\* This was the famous 'Root and Branch Bill' which was opposed by Falkland, who compared it to a total massacre of men, women, and children, and thus again found himself on the same side as Edward Hyde.

The opponents of the Bill, however, felt but little zeal in their own cause. The debates were long and tedious, and the temptation to spend the June days in the tennis court proved too great for many of them, while dinner was an almost irresistible attraction, so that the House was all but emptied of the opponents of the Bill at that time, which drew from Falkland the remark, 'that those who hated the bishops hated them worse than the devil, and that they who loved them did not love them so well as their dinner.'† The opposition, however, which the Bill received in committee was sufficient to materially hamper its progress, and after the king's departure for Scotland in August, it was dropped.

In October a Bill was again introduced into the House for depriving the bishops of their votes in Parliament and disabling all in Holy Orders from the exercise of all temporal jurisdiction and authority.

\* *Parl. Hist.*, vol. II., p. 838.

† *Lives from the Clarendon Gallery*, vol. I., p. 69.

This Bill was carried, but Falkland concurred with Hyde in opposing it. Hampden remarked upon this change of opinion, and Falkland replied, 'that he had formerly been persuaded by that worthy gentleman to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue, and therefore he had changed his opinion in many particulars as well as to things as to persons.'\* In November the king returned from Scotland, and, conscious of the need of counsellors upon whom he could rely, made overtures to Lord Falkland and Sir John Culpepper to accept the vacant offices of Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Falkland plainly saw the clouds of approaching storms gathering round the political horizon, and he hesitated to take office, but Hyde urged him to be a guide to the king in this time of peril, and to save the king from his own weakness and duplicity and the influence of the queen; and Falkland, feeling that acceptance was a duty, complied. Honesty, he said, obliged him to serve the king, but he foresaw his own ruin by doing it. Falkland and Culpepper were sworn in on January 1, 1641-2. Hyde, though declining office, was to assist the others in their councils.

Lord Falkland was a good linguist, and was, in

\* *Lives from the Clarendon Gallery*, vol. I., p. 70.

many ways, eminently fitted to perform the duties incidental to his office, but his actions were regulated by a moral standard so lofty as to place him at a disadvantage in his dealings with others. There were two things connected with his office which he never could bring himself to perform. Falkland would not employ a spy nor would he, under any circumstances, open a letter (even a suspicious one) addressed to another.

We can only indicate here in barest outline the principal events which followed in rapid succession the attempt of Charles, in January, 1642, to arrest the five members. The dismissal of the Earls of Essex and Holland by the king was a fatal error, as it resulted in Essex being appointed Lord General of the Parliamentary Forces in July, 1642. In August the king set up his standard at Nottingham, thus beginning the great Civil War. We pass over the Battle of Edgehill in October, the death of Hampden in January, 1643, and the siege of Gloucester by Prince Rupert.

Such glimpses as we can obtain of Lord Falkland's career, during this troubled time, serve to mark his fidelity to the cause he had espoused, and his devotion to his king.

London was now about to throw its sword into the scale. On August 22 Essex reviewed 8000 men

on Houndslow Heath, who were ready to start on the perilous enterprise of the relief of Gloucester. The march of the Parliamentary army was a rough and fatiguing one for Londoners unused to war. But they were borne up by a spirit of religious enthusiasm which found expression in the words 'The Lord that called us to do the work enabled us to undergo such hardships as He brought us to.'\* There is no evidence of such a spirit in Charles's camp before Gloucester.

Many noble hearts had already wearied of the conditions under which they were fighting. Carnarvon had retreated from Dorsetshire; Chillingworth and Falkland (but too conscious of the king's weakness and duplicity) beguiled the weary nights by disputations in a smoky hut. The citizens of Gloucester were holding out bravely. On the morning of the 5th of September their supply of ammunition was all but exhausted, and hope nearly gone, when they descried a commotion in the Royalist army. It was soon evident that Charles's force was in full retreat in the direction of Painswick. On the 7th, the day before Essex entered Gloucester, the king took up his position at Sudley Castle, to block the way by which Essex had arrived from London, and by which he might be expected to return. For

\* See Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. I. p. 240.

some days the armies strove to out-manœuvre each other.

In order to follow clearly the movements of Essex and the king, let us take Newbury as a central point of reference, and endeavour to form a mental picture of the surrounding country. Due north lies Oxford, while nearly north-west, and almost in a right line, lie Aldburn and the towns of Swindon, Cricdale, Cirencester, and Gloucester, Painswick lying a little south of Gloucester. Through Hungerford and Newbury runs the river Kennet, flowing, in this part of its course, nearly due east. On September 15 Essex surprises two regiments of the king at Cirencester, and then hastens to gain the road running through Hungerford and Newbury to London. He has outwitted the king, for Cirencester lies nearer to Newbury than Painswick. And now nothing is left to Charles but to race for Newbury, and head his opponent before he reaches it and slips away to London.

Charles, therefore, marches with what speed he can for Newbury, while Rupert hurries on with his cavalry, and succeeds in driving back Essex on the 18th to Hungerford, after a sharp skirmish on Aldbourne Chase. On the 19th Charles sleeps at Newbury, the greater portion of his army lying in the fields on the south of the Kennet.

We must now note the features of the battle-field,

which lay on the south of the river. A long ridge runs east and west, nearly parallel to the Kennet, and about two miles distant from it. Near Enborne, at the foot of this ridge, and between it and the river, Essex took up his position on the evening of the 19th September. On the southern slope the ground was open. The western end of the ridge was cut up by copses and deep lanes intersecting one another, while the greater part of the northern slope was covered with enclosures. The eastern end of the ridge opened out into spurs bending towards the river, some of which, it is important to remember, ran in the direction of the royalist army.

Essex knew the morning light would bring him no easy task. He was more or less hemmed in, he could not hope to gain the road running through Newbury, and he had no alternative but to make his way among the hedges and lanes, avoiding the open ground on the southern slope, till he reached the road which ran to London, not far from the eastern extremity of the ridge. Resolute and determined Essex quickly made up his mind, and again proved more than a match for Prince Rupert, for, while his main body struggled through the hedges and lanes, he dispatched a party to seize some high ground on one of the spurs which commanded the king's position in the valley.



Suddenly the royalists became aware that the hill above them, where they least expected an attack, was crowded by the enemy's advancing force. Sir Nicholas Byron at once gave orders that his nephew, Sir John Byron, who commanded a troop of horse, and with whom was Lord Falkland, should immediately hurry up the hillside and retrieve the ground ; while he himself followed with his brigade of infantry. For a long time the combat raged with varying success on either side, when ultimately the enemy took up a strong position behind a bank, or hedge, from which the royalists, now partly in the open, were exposed to their fire.

There appears to have been an opening, or gap, in this fence, and Sir John Byron decided that this should be enlarged at all costs, in order to admit his cavalry. Sir John's horse was shot in the throat, and while he called for another, Lord Falkland spurred his horse into and through the gap, and was immediately killed.

To appreciate fully the loss sustained by the nation, we must recall the services he rendered his king and country, and the influence produced by one whose moral standard was so lofty, and whose sense of duty was so keen. From his earliest years he had cultivated and improved his talents, and from the time he entered upon a parliamentary career, these talents



were employed to the utmost in the interests of the nation and the government of the country.

At a time when questions of Church government were closely mingled with political struggles, he brought the learning of a theologian and the faith of a Christian to meet the fanaticism with which the Church was so often assailed. During the Civil War Falkland's task was no easy one, as his mind was oppressed by conflicting obligations. To serve his sovereign was one thing, but to serve such a master as Charles quite another. Sick at heart, and weary of the prolonged struggle, he found in his military duties a solace and a relief; and, full of hope that a successful issue to the battle of Newbury might bring the war to a close, he threw himself into this combat with the greatest ardour, and fell, at the post of honour, in the discharge of his duty.

Thus Falkland died, soldier, poet, scholar; thus was terminated a life of singular purity, of almost childlike innocence, and of stainless integrity.













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